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SENECA

Phaedra

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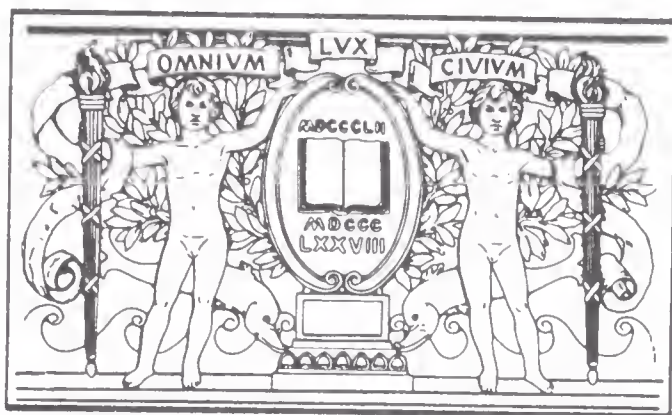
AND

ROLAND MAYER

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Seneca's *Phaedra* occupies an important and influential position in the tradition of European drama. This new edition concentrates on the dramatic qualities of *Phaedra* and examines the Greek and Roman background to the play, particularly Seneca's use of Euripides and Ovid, and its philosophical elements grounded in Seneca's Stoicism. Also discussed are elements of style, including dramatic diction and presentation, imagery and rhetoric, as well as the transmission of the text. An unusual feature of the introduction is the treatment of the influence of the *Phaedra* story in later European literature and music. The commentary examines Seneca's language in detail and looks at his use of earlier poetic models (Virgil and Ovid) as well as plot, characterization and his use of myth.

Although principally for students of Latin literature, this new edition will also be of interest to historians of drama and comparative literature.



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SENECA PHAEDRA

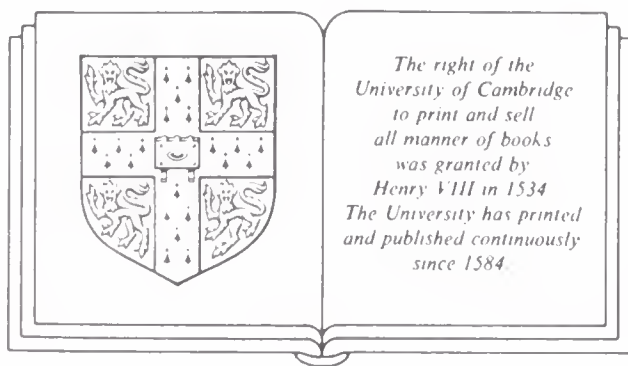
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PREFACE

This edition of Seneca's *Phaedra* contains the first full-scale commentary in English on this most influential play, the only treatment of the Hippolytus myth in Roman drama. The introduction aims to offer a systematic study of the Greek and Roman background to the play, its literary and philosophical elements, aspects of style such as imagery, the transmission of the text and a substantial treatment of the influence of the *Phaedra* story in later European literature and music. The text is founded on Otto Zwierlein's Oxford Classical Text, but a measure of editorial independence will be apparent. The first appendix to the commentary is a comprehensive list of verbal reminiscences, gathered together in order to lighten the commentary, which demonstrate the extent to which the language of *Phaedra* was permeated by the poetry of the age of Augustus; the second is a text of Ovid, *Heroides* IV which reprints that of G. P. Goold in the revised Loeb edition of 1977, and is reproduced here by permission of the trustees of the Loeb Classical Library. M. C. has been responsible for the introduction with the exception of the metrical section, which together with the text, commentary and appendices is the work of R. M.

The principal debt of gratitude of both editors is to Professor E. J. Kenney for his warm encouragement of the joint project and for the care with which he has criticized various stages of the work, always keeping in mind the needs of the reader. M. C. is also very grateful to Professor Otto Zwierlein for allowing him early access to both his text of Seneca's tragedies and also its companion volumes. R. M. wishes to express his gratitude to the management of the Fondation Hardt for their courtesy and helpfulness during a stay at which the commentary was begun, a stay which would not have been possible without financial assistance from the British Academy and from the Fonds Nationaux pour la Recherche Scientifique. Both M. C. and R. M. are also grateful to Miss Betty Dove for typing what was in many places a difficult manuscript.

ABBREVIATIONS

Barrett	W. S. Barrett, <i>Euripides, Hippolytos</i> (Oxford 1964, corr. ed. 1966)
Bonner	S. F. Bonner, <i>Roman declamation</i> (Liverpool 1949)
CHCL	<i>Cambridge history of classical literature II: Latin literature</i> , edd. E. J. Kenney and W. V. Clausen (Cambridge 1982)
Clemen	W. Clemen, <i>English tragedy before Shakespeare</i> (London 1961)
Coffey	M. Coffey, <i>Roman satire</i> (London 1976)
D-S	C. Daremberg and E. Saglio, <i>Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines d'après les textes et les monuments</i> , 9 vols. (Paris 1877-1919)
G-L	B. L. Gildersleeve and G. Lodge, <i>Latin grammar</i> , 3rd edn (London 1895)
Herter	H. Herter, 'Theseus', in <i>RE Supplementband XIII</i> (1973) 1045-1238
H-S	J. B. Hofmann and A. Szantyr, <i>Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik</i> (Munich 1965)
Housman	A. E. Housman, <i>Collected classical papers</i> , edd. J. Diggle and F. R. D. Goodyear, 3 vols. (Cambridge 1972)
Hunter	G. K. Hunter, <i>Dramatic identities and cultural tradition</i> (Liverpool 1978)
K-S	R. Kühner and C. Stegmann, <i>Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache</i> , 4th edn rev. A. Thierfelder, 2 vols. (Munich 1962)
Lesky	A. Lesky, <i>Greek tragic poetry</i> , English trans. (New Haven and London 1983)
N-H	R. G. M. Nisbet and M. Hubbard, <i>A commentary on Horace: Odes Book I</i> (Oxford 1970) <i>A commentary on Horace: Odes Book II</i> (Oxford 1978)
Otto	A. Otto, <i>Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer</i> (Leipzig 1890, repr. Hildesheim 1962)

<i>OCD</i>	<i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> 2nd edn (Oxford 1970)
<i>OLD</i>	<i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i> (Oxford 1968–82)
Pfeiffer	R. Pfeiffer, <i>History of classical scholarship</i> (Oxford 1968) <i>History of classical scholarship 1300–1850</i> (Oxford 1976)
<i>RE</i>	<i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , edd. Pauly–Wissowa–Kroll (Stuttgart 1893–1980)
Reynolds	L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, <i>Scribes and scholars</i> , 2nd edn (Oxford 1974)
Roby	H. J. Roby, <i>A grammar of the Latin language, Part II</i> (London 1889)
Roscher	W. H. Roscher, <i>Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie</i> (Leipzig 1884–1937)
Shackleton Bailey	D. R. Shackleton Bailey, <i>Propertiana</i> (Cambridge 1956)
Syme	R. Syme, <i>Tacitus</i> (Oxford 1958)
<i>TLL</i>	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</i> (Leipzig 1900–)
Wackernagel	J. Wackernagel, <i>Vorlesungen über Syntax</i> , 2 vols. (Basle I 1926, II 1928)
Webster	T. B. L. Webster, <i>The tragedies of Euripides</i> (London 1967)
Williams	G. W. Williams, <i>Change and decline in Roman literature in the early empire</i> (Berkeley–Los Angeles–London 1978)

INTRODUCTION

Seneca, the author of *Phaedra* and seven other tragedies on Greek mythological subjects, was a man of many aptitudes and attainments. He had an important place in Roman politics as the tutor of the future emperor Nero and on Nero's accession for at least five years his chief adviser. He was also an influential rhetorician and, as an adherent of the Stoic sect, composed in the contemporary declamatory manner a number of works on various aspects of moral philosophy, the most important of which were *De brevitae vitae*, a mordant analysis of the inane frivolities of an indolent society, *De clementia*, on mercy, a discreet warning against tyranny, dedicated to the young emperor Nero, *De tranquillitate animi*, on participation in public life, and the protreptic *Epistulae morales* written in the last years of his life.¹ He also wrote *Naturales quaestiones*, a work on terrestrial and atmospheric phenomena, and *Apocolocyntosis* (Pumpkinification), a vindictive but masterly satire on the deification of the recently deceased emperor Claudius.² No aspect of Seneca's writings should be interpreted in isolation from the rest, for wide personal experience in addition to deep knowledge of literary traditions inspired both the tragedies and the prose works of this versatile man.

1. THE LIFE OF SENECA

Lucius Annaeus Seneca was born shortly before the beginning of the Christian era at Corduba (mod. Córdoba) in Baetica, the highly Romanized province of S. Spain. He was the second son of a wealthy knight of the same name, a man of Italian extraction.³ Brought to Rome at an early age with a view to a political career and that of advocate in the courts, he was educated by teachers who for the most part combined

¹ In addition to Griffin (1976) on the moral essays see D. A. Russell, 'Letters to Lucilius', in Costa (1974) 70-95 and H. MacL. Currie, 'Seneca the philosopher', in Dudley (1972) 24-61.

² On *Apocolocyntosis* see P. T. Eden, ed., *Seneca Apocolocyntosis* (Cambridge 1984) and Coffey 165-77.

³ On the Spanish background of the elder Seneca see Miriam T. Griffin, *J.R.S.* 62 (1972) 1-12; on his rhetorical influence see p. 18 and nn. 66-7 below.

declamatory rhetoric with philosophy.⁴ He became *quaestor*, the first important magistracy of the *cursus honorum*, at some time late in the reign of Tiberius or during that of Gaius (Caligula).⁵

In the first year of the reign of Claudius (A.D. 41) Seneca, probably at the instigation of the emperor's wife Messalina, was condemned to death by the senate on the charge of having committed adultery with Julia Livilla, Claudius' niece. The death penalty was commuted by Claudius to banishment. Seneca's relegation to Corsica for eight years of the prime of his life deprived him of any place at the centre of the Roman world but gave him much time for reflection.⁶ He was recalled early in A.D. 49 through the contriving of Claudius' niece and new wife Agrippina in order to become the preceptor and tutor of her son Nero and was immediately nominated for a praetorship.⁷ His responsibilities became graver when in A.D. 50 Claudius set aside his own son Britannicus and adopted Nero as his successor. In October A.D. 54 Nero became emperor after the sudden death of Claudius by poison that, as was generally agreed, was instigated by Agrippina. The close collaboration of Seneca and Burrus, the sole prefect of the praetorian guard, was the fundamental basis for the stability in the government of the Roman world for the first five years at least of the reign of Nero.

In A.D. 59 Nero, in order to free himself from the suffocating importunities of his mother, had her murdered. Seneca composed the letter sent by the emperor to the senate accusing her of conspiracy and alleging that she had committed suicide. As the truth was widely known his reputation was shattered, but he retained some influence with Nero until the death of Burrus in A.D. 62 finally broke his power.⁸ He withdrew from public life, and though possibly privy to the Pisonian conspiracy of A.D. 65, was not, unlike his nephew the poet Lucan, an active

⁴ Notably Papirius Fabianus, on whose style see Sen. *Epist.* 100; E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa* (Leipzig 1923) 308 'philosophizing declaimer or declaiming philosopher'.

⁵ On all aspects of Seneca's career see Griffin (1976); on his quaestorship 43–51.

⁶ On Seneca's exile see Griffin (1976) 59–62 and 288. Caligula had all exiles executed (Suet. *Calig.* 28).

⁷ On Agrippina's motives see Tac. *Ann.* 12.8, 13.2.

⁸ The narrative of Books 13–15 of the *Annals* of Tacitus, unlike that of Cassius Dio, is generally sympathetic to Seneca. See Griffin (1976) esp. ch. 3, 67–128, also M. T. Griffin, *Nero: the end of a dynasty* (London 1984) esp. 50–87 and Syme 550–2 and 591.

participant. Nero, however, as part of a savage purge demanded his suicide. Seneca, in an elaborately arranged death scene that was, as Tacitus narrates it, in many ways a deliberate imitation of that of Socrates, met his end in tranquillity and without fear.⁹

Seneca has been accused of hypocrisy, both in his lifetime and in later ages, because of the discrepancy between writings that proclaimed modest self-sufficiency in a way of life committed to philosophy and his public career as Nero's political adviser, who connived at the gravest crimes and became inordinately wealthy.¹⁰ Seneca experienced the allure of wealth but also its hazards, for a plutocrat was at risk when the emperor was jealous and avaricious. Hence his sincere desire to return to Nero a large part of his wealth when he wished to withdraw from court life. No one could survive long as Nero's grey eminence with his moral reputation untarnished. To condemn Seneca is easy; to assess some of his dilemmas requires an unprejudiced understanding of the age of Claudius and Nero.¹¹

2. THE DATING OF SENECA'S TRAGEDIES

There is positive evidence that shortly after his return from exile Seneca was actively concerned with problems of tragic drama. In the early fifties of the first century there took place in the prefaces that preceded the recitation of tragedy a learned dispute on a point of propriety in tragic diction between Seneca and the distinguished consular and tragedian Pomponius Secundus. It is likely that Seneca also wrote tragedies during the same period and possibly in later years, when it was said by his enemies that he composed poetry with greater assiduity at a time when Nero as emperor was captivated by the art.¹²

⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 15.60.3-64.6 and Griffin (1976) 367-88.

¹⁰ The prejudiced attack in A.D. 58 reported by Tacitus at *Ann.* 13.42 and extended by Dio (see Griffin (1976) 428-33) is echoed uncritically by H. J. Rose, *A handbook of Latin literature* (London 1966³) 359-60; see also F. H. Sandbach, *The Stoics* (London 1975) 160-2.

¹¹ See J. Ferguson in Dudley (1972) 1-23, Syme 551-2 and Tarrant 1985 8.

¹² On the literary dispute see Quint. *Inst.* 8.3.31 and for its probable date of A.D. 52 C. Cichorius, *Römische Studien* (Leipzig 1922) 426-9. Reporting the attacks on Seneca's verse-making Tacitus (*Ann.* 14.52.2-3) uses the word *carmina*, a term used in the singular by himself (*ibid.* 11.13.1) and by Cicero (*Sen.* 22) of a tragedy.

On the dating of individual plays it may be noted that late in the reign of Tiberius a man of distinguished birth and eloquence was driven to suicide because it was alleged that sentiments in his *Atreus* play betokened disloyalty to Tiberius.¹³ Seneca was therefore aware that the Greek myth could be applied to a Roman political context with perilous results and is unlikely to have written his *Thyestes* until after his return from exile as tutor of a prince or adviser to a young emperor.¹⁴ If, as is widely accepted, Seneca parodies his own *Hercules Furens* at *Apocolocyntosis* 7, a date *ante quem* of late A.D. 54 may be suggested.¹⁵

A recently propounded stylistic approach demands attention. The demonstration that in the genuine Senecan corpus the sense-pause in a mid-line position designated by any strong punctuation mark or change of speaker increases proportionately in a sequence in which *Agamemnon*, *Phaedra* and *Oedipus* have the fewest, *Medea*, *Troades* and *Hercules Furens* a greater number and *Thyestes* and *Phoenissae* the most, suggests that *Phaedra* is early in relation to most of the other plays. This criterion, though interesting, is in itself inconclusive. Far more compelling is the argument based on the collection of data whereby final -o, in certain classes of word, shows a pattern of development in which the proportion of long final -o is approximately equal with minor fluctuations in all the plays except *Thyestes*, and still more *Phoenissae*, where there is a great preponderance of the shortened vowel. It may be concluded that *Thyestes* was Seneca's last complete tragedy and the plays were written over a period of some years.¹⁶ The metrical evidence suggests that *Phaedra* had an early place in Seneca's sequence and, if a date of about

¹³ Tac. *Ann.* 6.29.4-7.

¹⁴ Note Sen. *De ira* 1.20.4. See further M. Coffey, 'Notes on the history of Augustan and early imperial tragedy', in J. H. Betts, J. T. Hooker, J. R. Green, edd., *Studies in honour of T.B.L. Webster* 1 (Bristol 1986) 47-9. Seneca's possible family connection with that of Sejanus (see P. Oxy. 55 (1988) 3807 pp. 183-7) will have increased his caution.

¹⁵ On self-parody see O. Weinreich, *Senecas Apocolocyntosis* (Berlin 1923) 62-8 and on the date of *Apocolocyntosis*, Coffey 168-9 and F.R.D. Goodyear, *CHCL* II 633-4.

¹⁶ J. G. Fitch, *A. J. Ph.* 102 (1981) 289-307, uses sense-pauses within the line in Sophocles and Shakespeare as control. For data in shortening of final -o he is concerned mainly with nom. sing. of third decl. nouns, first pers. sing. of present and future tenses, gerunds and pronouns and refers to R. G. Austin on Virg. *Aen.* 2.735. Chronology is also discussed by Zwiernlein (1984) 233-48.

A.D. 54 or earlier be accepted for *Hercules Furens*, it would seem to belong to the later years of the reign of Claudius.

3. THE BACKGROUND OF THE MYTH

The motif of the lecherous stepmother and that of Potiphar's wife, the woman who makes advances to a man and on being rejected accuses him of actual or intended rape, is widely spread in myth, folk tales and early literature. The lustful stepmother is found in Irish and Icelandic myths and the Italian novella as well as in Greek stories about Hippolytus.¹⁷ The best example of the Potiphar's wife motif in the Greek tradition is the myth of Bellerophon, who while staying with Proetus rebuffed the amatory proposals of his wife Stheneboea and in consequence was falsely accused by her.¹⁸ The tales of Phaedra and Stheneboea were linked by Aristophanes, who in his *Frogs* puts into the mouth of Aeschylus an indictment of the dramatic portrayal of these wicked women by Euripides (1043–53).

The story of Hippolytus, son of Theseus by an Amazon mother, formed part of the corpus of myths concerning Theseus, who though widely interpreted in archaic tradition as an archetypal hero of Athens was connected with the mythology of Trozen, a small city state in north-eastern Peloponnese, as well as of Attica. The tale of Hippolytus, his stepmother Phaedra and his father Theseus was localized in both Athens and Trozen.

Euripides wrote two tragedies on the story of Hippolytus. The first, which has been referred to since early Alexandrian times as *Hippolytos Kalyptomenos* (Hippolytus who covered his head), was written probably about the mid thirties of the fifth century B.C. and is known to us from some twenty short fragments and *testimonia*.¹⁹ The action takes place in Athens. The prologue is delivered either by Phaedra or as in the *Medea* (431 B.C.) by the Nurse. In the earlier part of the play

¹⁷ Stith Thompson, *Motif-index of folk literature* (Bloomington, Indiana 1932–6) v 386.

¹⁸ Stith Thompson (n. 17) iv 474, referring to J. G. Frazer, ed., Apollodorus, *The Library* (Loeb Classical Library 1921) i 151 and ii 63 n. 4.

¹⁹ On the dating of the first Hippolytus play see Lesky 459 n. 45. The fragments are quoted and analysed systematically by Barrett 10–45 and discussed by Webster 64–9. On the title see Barrett 10 n. 1 and 37 n. 1.

Hippolytus learns on the stage either from Phaedra herself, as is widely assumed, or through some intermediary such as the Nurse, of her passion for him. Hence he covers his head to protect himself from the pollutions of her incestuous desire. It may also have been suggested that he should attempt to seize the throne. By whatever means a vow of silence is extorted from him. There is a scene of angry confrontation between Theseus and Hippolytus, who is prevented by his oath from defending himself fairly. Theseus will have used one of the protective prayers granted him by Poseidon to curse his son, who is mortally injured when a monstrous bull from the sea drives his horses to uncontrolled panic and disaster. It is not known whether the truth of Hippolytus' innocence was revealed to Theseus by a messenger, by the Nurse or by Phaedra herself. Her suicide probably took place after the truth had become known. At the end of the play there was a prophecy, probably by a *deus ex machina*, that there would be a cult in honour of Hippolytus. Much is uncertain about the first Hippolytus play and it is not permissible to use Seneca's play as a means of reconstructing it.²⁰

We are told that the play caused serious offence to the Athenian public for its portrayal of what was judged according to the ancient 'Hypothesis' to the play to be 'unseemly and worthy of condemnation'. A few years later in 428 B.C., contrary to normal procedure, Euripides produced a second Hippolytus play, from which the more objectionable elements had been removed. This is the extant play, referred to by the commentators and scholars as *Hippolytos Stephanephoros*, Hippolytus who offers a garland, i.e. in fealty to his patroness Artemis. The play took the first prize and has ever since been judged a masterpiece.²¹

The prologue of Euripides' second Hippolytus play is spoken by Aphrodite, the goddess of love and sex, who will bring vengeance on Hippolytus for showing contempt for her and an exclusive devotion to Artemis the virgin goddess of the hunt: she has chosen to make Phaedra

²⁰ Barrett, though willing to admit the possibility that Seneca was to some extent influenced by Euripides' earlier Hippolytus play, is rightly sceptical of all attempts to use Seneca to reconstruct Euripides (30–45); see also H. Lloyd-Jones, *J.H.S.* 85 (1965) 164–71 and *Gnomon* 38 (1966) 14–15. Seneca's possible originality is explored by U. Moricca, *S.I.F.C.* 21 (1915) 158–224 and Grimal (1963). See also J. Dingel, *Hermes* 98 (1970) 44–56.

²¹ See the ancient hypothesis to the *Hippolytus*, Barrett 96, ll. 25–30 = *Euripidis Fabulae*, J. Diggle, ed., (Oxford 1984) 1205, ll. 25–30.

the instrument of his destruction. Phaedra is presented as a virtuous queen, loyal to her family, who is reduced to an extreme of physical weakness and mental instability by a malady the nature of which she conceals. After the Nurse has wrested from her the confession that she has a passion for her stepson Hippolytus, she explains that after deliberation she has decided that her own honour and that of her family demands her suicide. The Nurse, who had previously censured Phaedra's passion, now counsels her to accept it and enters the palace having made evasive promises to secure some artificial remedy and to refrain from informing Hippolytus. But off-stage she extracts an oath of silence from him before confiding to him the guilty secret of her mistress. Phaedra overhears that she has been betrayed before the entry of Hippolytus, who utters a tirade on women in general and Phaedra in particular for the licentious desires which have tainted him. She sends the Nurse away and hangs herself. Theseus on his return from Delphi finds a writing tablet hanging from the hand of Phaedra which accuses Hippolytus of rape. Accepting the truth of the accusation without further enquiry he curses his son and reviles him. Hippolytus, trapped by his vow of silence, pleads in vain his virginal innocence and lack of motive. After his departure into exile a messenger brings news of the disaster caused by the bull, and the dying Hippolytus is brought on. Theseus is about to revile him again, but Artemis appears and condemns Theseus for taking pleasure in the death of his son and for his misuse of one of Poseidon's curses, intended for an enemy, without first seeking any corroboration. There is a final reconciliation between Theseus and Hippolytus, who before his death absolves his father from the pollution of blood guilt.²²

In Euripides' *Hippolytus* there is a complex and sometimes uneasy interaction between divine intervention and human action and moral responsibility. The action takes place within the framework of the intrusion into human affairs of two goddesses. Aphrodite presents herself as willing to cause evil in order to further her malice and is condemned by Artemis in the concluding scene of the play for her hatred of Hippolytus' self-control and purity. Artemis, to whom Hippolytus was the dearest of mankind, states that she had been unable to interfere with an initiative taken by another deity, reveals to Theseus and Hippolytus

²² The exposition of the play by Lesky 229–35 is exemplary. See also P.E. Easterling, *CHCL* 1 318–29.

the reasons for Phaedra's actions, and foretells that in compensation for the injustice of his fate and his atrocious sufferings Hippolytus will be commemorated by a permanent ritual in Trozen in which Phaedra also will receive a share of the honours. As a result of the epiphany of Artemis, father and son, while expressing their abhorrence of the treatment of innocent human beings by divine powers, are fully reconciled to each other in understanding and affection.²³ The play ends in deep sadness but without strident rancour.

In addition to the supernatural aspect of *Hippolytus* there is in strictly human terms a conflict between overwhelming passion and the power of the intellect to choose and to accept moral responsibility. The play explores areas of irrational, intense, emotional disturbance. Phaedra's malaise is described first as an illness of both body and mind. The topic of physical disorders is treated subtly and with great delicacy, and an element of delirium is displayed in her restless urge to escape from her surroundings. But, after the revelation of her love for Hippolytus, there follows a speech in which Phaedra expounds dispassionately to the chorus the stages of her thinking in her attempts to thwart the effects of her infatuation. Having deemed silence and self-control ineffective, she decides that suicide alone is her wise course of action, demonstrating implicitly that the power of her will and her ability to choose now have the mastery, but her firm resolution is eroded by the argument of the Nurse that suicide is a high-minded but futile gesture. In the anguish of her indecision Phaedra tacitly capitulates. However, as soon as she hears of Hippolytus' knowledge of her passion, she decides on immediate death for herself. Her attitude hardens when after listening to Hippolytus' tirade she believes that in spite of his oath he may betray her, and having blamed the Nurse in bitter anger for revealing her secret, in order to secure the good name of her family she makes the further decision to bring disaster to Hippolytus as well as death to herself.

As a devotee of Artemis Hippolytus is morally pure but his pleas of

²³ The status of the gods is sometimes ambiguous, e.g. Kypris (i.e. Aphrodite) is at one point described as not a goddess but a greater destructive force (359–61). On the gods in *Hippolytus* see B.M.W. Knox, *Y.C.S.* 13 (1952) 27–9 (= *Word and action* (Baltimore 1979) 226–8), R.P. Winnington-Ingram in *Euripide (Entretiens Fondation Hardt* vi, 1960) 171–91, H. Lloyd-Jones, *The justice of Zeus* (Berkeley 1971) 147–53 and K. J. Dover, *Greek popular morality* (Oxford 1974) 77.

innocence are of no avail against the immovable prejudice of Theseus. Yet the fiery rhetoric of his general condemnation of women and his flaunting of his own virtue will have suggested to the audience a hybriatic priggishness, together with a measure of prurience, as will his disdain and contemptuous gesture towards the goddess Aphrodite. Theseus, though important for the action of the play, is not of interest as a dramatic character. Of greater dramatic potential is the role of the Nurse, something more varied and wide-ranging than that usually accorded to a minor character in an ancient tragedy. The part played by the Chorus is distinguished both for its rapport with the action and also for the lyrical splendour of the odes, notably the depiction of love as a power of sweetness and also of terrible destruction (525–64).²⁴

Fragments of Sophocles' *Phaedra* are fewer than those of Euripides' *Hippolytus* I and our knowledge of the piece more exiguous.²⁵ It is certain that in Sophocles Theseus returns not from an embassy but from the Underworld. His absence, if protracted, may have convinced Phaedra that he was dead and thus be important for her conduct. She regards her passion as a disease sent by Zeus.²⁶ The tragic events concerning Phaedra and Hippolytus are so intertwined that Sophocles' choice of *Phaedra* rather than *Hippolytus* for his title may have had little significance.²⁷ It is widely assumed, perhaps rightly, that Sophocles produced his play as a corrective to the offensive depiction of Phaedra in Euripides' *Hippolytus* I.²⁸ It is also possible that in *Hippolytus* I Euripides attempted to modify what he might have considered an unreal handling of the theme by Sophocles. But it is unlikely that Sophocles turned to the story as long as the successful second Hippolytus play was fresh in the memory of the theatre-going public.²⁹

Asclepiades of Tragilos, a fourth-century pupil of the orator Isocrates,

²⁴ R. Lattimore, *The poetry of Greek tragedy* (Baltimore 1958) 110–20, discusses the notions of relief and escape in the poetry of *Hippolytus*.

²⁵ See S. Radt, ed., *Trag. Graec. Frag.* iv: *Sophocles* (Göttingen 1977) 475–81, and A. C. Pearson, ed., *Sophocles' fragments* (Cambridge 1917) 11 pp. 294–305. Barrett 22–6 discusses the fragments with acumen; see also Webster 75–6.

²⁶ F 680 (Radt) = 680 (Pearson) (See n. 25). The lines on Love (Eros) are rightly attributed to Sophocles by Radt (F 684) and Pearson (684); cf. Barrett 23.

²⁷ But see Barrett 12–13 and Webster 76.

²⁸ Lesky 187 and Webster 75.

²⁹ Such however is the view of U. von Wilamowitz, *Euripides Hippolytos* (Berlin 1891) 57.

in his work on the subjects used in tragedy gives a version of the story in which Theseus, wishing to protect Hippolytus from possible harm done to him by Phaedra, sent him to govern Trozen. Phaedra, having already fallen in love with Hippolytus and built a temple to Aphrodite in Athens, on arrival in Trozen intended to persuade Hippolytus to succumb to her passion. As he rejected her she accused him falsely of rape. Theseus accepted her story and invoked one of the solemn prayers given him by Poseidon. Hippolytus was riding his chariot by the shore when the bull came from the sea and caused his agonizing destruction. When the truth was revealed, Phaedra hanged herself.³⁰ It is noteworthy that, as is widely assumed in *Hippolytus* I, Phaedra made a direct approach to her stepson and that she committed suicide after the detection of her calumny.

The only mention of a dramatic version of the Hippolytus story from the Alexandrian period is the *Hippolytus* of Lycophron. The work is known to us only as a title; there is no indication that Roman writers of the early empire showed any interest in Hellenistic drama.³¹ For Seneca Euripides seems to have been the Greek dramatist *par excellence*.³²

4. ROMAN LITERARY INFLUENCES

The fragmentary remains of the plays of the three major tragedians of the Roman republic, Ennius (239–169 B.C.), Pacuvius (220–c. 140 B.C.) and Accius (170–c. 90 B.C.) are a wretchedly imperfect guide to their intrinsic qualities and their influence on subsequent literature, but our defective knowledge can be supplemented from the numerous comments and judgements on them by other writers, particularly Cicero. The Roman tragedians based their work on Greek originals, but how closely they were indebted to their models is uncertain. Cicero describes Ennius' *Medea* as a close rendering (*ad verbum*) of Euripides' drama on

³⁰ On Asclepiades see Barrett 26–7, quoting *Frag. Gr. hist.* 12 F 28 cited by schol. V on Hom. *Od.* 11.321. Asclepiades was the author of *Tragodoumena*, the subjects of tragedy. There is a similar version of the story with minor variants in Paus. 1.22.2 and Apollod. *Epit.* 1.18–19.

³¹ On Lycophron see Pfeiffer (1968) 119–20 and for the *testimonia* on his *Hippolytus* see B. Snell, ed., *Trag. Graec. Frag.* 1 (Göttingen 1971) 174–5.

³² See for example *Epist.* 115. 14–15 and W. S. Maguinness, *Hermathena* 87 (1956) 90–1.

the same subject, but it is clear from the fragments that Ennius departed widely from his original in phrase and in substance.³³

Both Pacuvius and Accius had their devotees in late republican and early imperial times, Pacuvius for his exalted language and Accius for his thrusting energy. Cicero greatly admired Accius' *Atreus* (the Thyestes story) and relished words suited to the *persona* of Atreus.³⁴ Accius had a penchant for horrific themes, such as rape and barbarous cruelty, and for hyperbolic language and was also admired for a skill in repartee in dialogue, a technique associated with forensic arts.³⁵ All these qualities are found in good measure in Seneca. So far as we know, the Hippolytus story was not used by republican tragedians. Though Seneca describes their diction as covered in rust, nevertheless, if there were more substantial remains of this phase of Roman literature, it would perhaps be possible to see a firmer line of continuity between it and what was to follow.³⁶

While no republican tragedy of consequence was written after the death of Accius, there was, to judge from comments by Cicero, an enthusiastic but fickle theatre public for revivals of tragedies until the end of the republic.³⁷ Cicero himself, who had an extensive knowledge of the Roman tragic poets, quoted them in grave and frivolous situations.³⁸ He was a devotee of the theatre in an age of virtuoso actors rather than

³³ Cic. *Fin.* 1.4.

³⁴ On Pacuvius Cic. *Opt. gen.* 2, Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.56. Both Pacuvius and Accius are assessed by Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.97. On Accius' *Atreus* see Cic. *De orat.* 3.217 and 219, also *Off.* 3.102.

³⁵ E.g. Accius' choice of the gruesome Tereus myth (636–48 R³); on his hyperbolic language see W. Beare, *The Roman stage* (London 1964³) 120, and on his rhetorical skill Quint. *Inst.* 5.13.43.

³⁶ Sen. *Epist.* 58.5. Seneca's stricture should be seen in context, a description of the process in the development of Latin whereby older words, even some used by Virgil, have become obsolete.

³⁷ E.g. Cic. *Fin.* 5.63. It seems that a performance of Accius' *Tereus* in July 44 B.C. was the occasion for a political demonstration (see Cic. *Ad Att.* 16.23 and Shackleton Bailey *ad loc.*).

³⁸ Cicero quotes from Accius' *Philoctetes* in a crisis (*Ad fam.* 7.33.1 = 192 Shackleton Bailey) and frivolously from an unknown tragedy at *Ad Att.* 13.47(1) = 339 Shackleton Bailey. Even the young libertine M. Caelius quoted Pacuvius (Cic. *Ad fam.* 8.2): see J. Griffin, *Latin poets and Roman life* (London 1985) 200, who discusses the influence of drama on Cicero. See also H. MacL. Currie, 'Ovid and the Roman stage', *A.N.R.W.* 11 31.4 (1981) 2701.

of creativity, revering both the urbanely perfectionist Roscius and the solemn Aesopus who played the *Atreus* of Accius with an extraordinary intensity of emotion.³⁹

The *Thyestes* of L. Varius Rufus, the friend of Virgil and Horace, presented in 28 B.C. as part of the public celebration of the victorious return to Rome of Octavianus (Augustus) after his defeat of Antony and Cleopatra, was the last major achievement of Roman drama for the stage. It won public acclaim and a lavish gift for its author.⁴⁰ But a decade or so later Horace stated that there was no place for serious drama on the stage as the people called for bears and boxers and there was a quest for the spectacular.⁴¹ Tragedy was now presented in the private recitations associated particularly with Asinius Pollio, the famous consul of 40 B.C., the dedicatee of Virgil's Fourth Eclogue, who in the decade following his consulship had a high reputation as tragedian.⁴² In such a solo recitation the author's skill in elocution and oratorical presentation took the place of actors and the stage milieu.⁴³

The *Medea* of Ovid was probably the finest tragedy written for recitation and not for stage performance. As Ovid states explicitly in a poem written in his years of exile that he never wrote anything for the theatre, his *Medea* will have been intended for recitation before an educated minority audience, such as the coterie of Messalla Corvinus, his early patron, which could appreciate his finely honed and allusive

³⁹ On Aesopus see Cic. *Ad fam.* 7.1.2 and *Tusc.* 4.55; on Roscius Cic. *Arch.* 17, *A.D.* 1.79, *Div.* 2.62, and for a comparison of the two Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.111. For the power of the actor see Cic. *De orat.* 2.193; Quint. *Inst.* 6.2.35–6. See also E. Rawson, *P.B.S.R.* 53 (1985) 97–113 (on the mime 111).

⁴⁰ On Varius see Hor. *Sat.* 1.5.40–2, 1.10.43–4, *C.* 1.6 and N–H 81. On his *Thyestes* see H. D. Jocelyn, *Gnomon* 50 (1978) 778–80 and Coffey, cited in n. 14.

⁴¹ Cic. *Ad fam.* 7.1, Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.180–213 and C.O. Brink, *Horace on poetry* III (Cambridge 1982) *ad loc.*

⁴² On Asinius Pollio as tragedian see Hor. *Sat.* 1.10.42–3 and Syme 136; in general see R. Syme, *The Roman revolution* (Oxford 1939) esp. 217–20 and 512. On the importance of his part in fostering the recitation see E. J. Kenney in *CHCL* II 12 and Williams 303–4.

⁴³ In both Greece and Rome oratory and histrionics had much in common. See A. M. Dale, ed., Euripides *Alcestis* (Oxford 1954) xxvii–xxix. For Cicero's concern with acting and oratory see Plut. *Cic.* 5.4–6 and n. 39.

craftsmanship.⁴⁴ Ovid's only tragedy is sometimes seen as a new departure in literature, a kind of drama in which character and decision are of limited interest compared with the display of rhetorically enhanced emotion.⁴⁵ It must have been an important exemplar for Senecan drama, but it may be unwise to overstate its novelty, for in addition to the rhetorical elements in republican literature rhetorical presentation may also be seen as an extension of the technique of Euripides.⁴⁶

Ovid's work was of greater importance to Seneca than a means of providing a likely source for one of his plays. His calculated artificiality and poised rhetoric permeated the fabric of Seneca's verse and that of all post-Augustan poets. Elegance of texture, the witty conceit and elliptical presentation were marks of a new concept of high poetry in Rome which were found in the continuous poetry (*carmen perpetuum*) of the convoluted mythical tales of *Metamorphoses*, in which Ovid approximated to the traditional epic manner of Homer and Virgil by retaining the heroic hexameter, but departed from it by allowing wide variation in the level of style and a greater looseness of structure based on Alexandrian conventions that owed ultimate allegiance to Hesiod.⁴⁷ Ovid's search for the sensational topic and the hyperbolic phrase together with a measure of wilful nonchalance was deemed by some critics to vitiate the impact of his work.⁴⁸ But, to judge from the frequency of

⁴⁴ Ovid's disclaimer: *Trist.* 5.7.25–8. On his patron Messalla Corvinus see *Ex Pont.* 2.3.75–8 and R. Syme, *History in Ovid* (Oxford 1978) 116–17. Quintilian (*Inst.* 10.1.98) judged Ovid's *Medea* to be a work of excellence free from the faults that were in his opinion found in the rest of the poet's work. His comment follows his eulogy of Varius' *Thyestes*. Tacitus, writing a few years later (*Dial.* 12.5), similarly juxtaposes and praises the two tragedies. For quotations from Ovid's *Medea* see Quint. *Inst.* 8.5.6 and Sen. *Suas.* 3.7 and from Varius' *Thyestes* Quint. *Inst.* 3.8.45.

⁴⁵ This view is stated forcefully by Leo, *Obs.* 148–9.

⁴⁶ On Euripides' rhetoric see C. Collard, 'Formal debates in Euripides' drama', *G. & R.* 22 (1975) 58–71, Shirley A. Barlow, ed., *Euripides Trojan women* (Warminster 1986) 30–2.

⁴⁷ On the *Metamorphoses* in general see E. J. Kenney in *CHCL* II 430–41 and L. P. Wilkinson, *Ovid surveyed* (Cambridge 1962) 63–111.

⁴⁸ Quintilian (*Inst.* 10.1.88) judged the poet of the *Metamorphoses* to be frivolous (*lascivus*) and too enamoured of his own talents, cf. Sen. *Contr.* 2.2.12; contrast his comment on Ovid's *Medea* (see n. 44). Compare Seneca's comment on what he regards as childish absurdity (*pueriles ineptias*) in Ovid's description of the great flood (*N.Q.* 3.27.13–15).

quotations from the *Metamorphoses* in his prose works (exceeded only by the number of citations from Virgil's *Georgics* and *Aeneid*), Seneca held Ovid's most ambitious work in the highest esteem.⁴⁹

Of more immediate importance to some of the themes of Seneca the playwright were Ovid's *Heroides*, a series of epistolary poems written in elegiac couplets of rhetorical elegance and wit, in which heroines of Greek mythology complain to the object of their passion of their separation from him.⁵⁰ The extent of Seneca's indebtedness to the letter of Phaedra to Hippolytus (*Her.* 4) is noted in the commentary and is sufficient to justify the inclusion of the text of the poem.⁵¹ In addition to a mention in the *Aeneid* (6.445) Phaedra would be familiar to the Roman reader from the letter.

In the period from the exile of Ovid until about the middle of the first century A.D., while public indifference and the danger of imperial hostility inhibited the writing of tragedy, popular interest concentrated both on the mime and also on the more exotic sub-genre of pantomime with its musical and balletic appeal.⁵²

The final demise of traditional tragedy for public performance in Rome seems to have happened in A.D. 47 when a play by Pomponius Secundus was heckled by the crowd. In consequence Claudius issued an angry edict, not on aesthetic grounds, but because a distinguished consular had been insulted in the public theatre.⁵³ The external evidence suggests that Seneca, like his contemporaries in the middle of the first century A.D., viewed the recital hall rather than the theatre as the appropriate place for the presentation of serious tragic drama.

The composition of poetry, including tragedy, will have been part of Nero's literary and rhetorical education as supervised by Seneca.⁵⁴ The

⁴⁹ Twenty-four citations from *Met.* as against some thirty from the *Georgics* and seventy from the *Aeneid*. See Maguinness (n. 32).

⁵⁰ On the *Heroides* see E. J. Kenney in *CHCL* II 422–8; on *Her.* 4 (Phaedra's letter) 423–4 and A.-F. Sabot, *A.N.R.W.* II 31.4 (1981) 2596–9.

⁵¹ See pp. 204–8.

⁵² The Roman mime achieved a measure of verbal respectability in late republican times in the mimes of Publilius Syrus and Decimus Laberius: see N. M. Horsfall in *CHCL* II 293–4 and Rose (n. 10) 149–53. On the pantomime, introduced to Rome in 22 B.C. (Ath. 1.20D–E), see the well-documented article in *OCD*² by W. Beare, and on the early stages E. J. Jory, *B.I.C.S.* 28 (1981) 147–61.

⁵³ Tac. *Ann.* 11.13.1. On Pomponius' literary dispute with Seneca see p. 3.

⁵⁴ On Seneca's literary influence on Nero see p. 3.

result of the teacher's influence may be discovered in the young emperor's public declamation and the acclaimed private and public recitation of his own poetry.⁵⁵ There are, as will be shown (p. 20), fine declamatory pieces in Seneca's tragedies which may have influenced Nero. But there seems little connection between Seneca's traditionally structured drama and the products of Nero's sensational career as impresario and public entertainer.

5. DRAMATIC PERFORMANCES

Though Seneca's primary intention was to provide a vehicle for animated recitation or declamation in which the audience was persuaded to share the illusion of an enacted drama, the possibility that his plays were performed in whole or part should not be excluded. A recent well-documented study suggests that scenes from Seneca's tragedies would make impressive, emotionally charged excerpts for the stage.⁵⁶ In order to retain his credentials as a tragedian even in an age of recitation, Seneca was compelled to follow the traditional structure of the genre and accept such conventions as the inclusion of a chorus, the use of no more than three speaking parts, and general adherence to the five-act structure.⁵⁷ While it was perhaps inevitable that at a time when recited drama was the norm some dramatic unrealities should have been admitted, it is none the less arguable that, though the difficulties are formidable, everything in Seneca's tragedies could have been enacted on the stage, provided that a degree of stylization was accepted for scenes of violence and the gruesome. In modern times the so-called theatre of the absurd as exemplified by Samuel Beckett is rightly respected, and

⁵⁵ Suet. *Ner.* 10.2.

⁵⁶ A. Dihle, 'Seneca und die Aufführungspraxis der römischen Tragödie', *A. & A.* 29 (1983) 162–71, bases his argument on evidence from Greek papyri and inscriptions concerned with actors' texts and the performance of isolated scenes from tragedy.

⁵⁷ Tarrant (1978) 217–54 argues that Seneca's dramatic form conforms to the post-Euripidean tradition known to us from the New Comedy of Menander, e.g. the five-act structure. The *Exagoge* of Ezekiel, a Greek play written by an Alexandrian Jewish writer of the second century B.C., disregards the unities of time and place, while Seneca in the complete genuine plays keeps a unity of place: see H. Jacobson, *The Exagoge of Ezekiel* (Cambridge 1983). Pliny (*Epist.* 6.21.2–5) praises strict adherence to established dramatic forms even in plays intended for recitation.

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er plays such as *Titus Andronicus* and *The Duchess of Malfi* are viewed with composure by theatre-going connoisseurs. Scholars and critics in an age attuned to the performance of such drama ought not to be too hasty in rejecting the possibility of Senecan tragedy on the stage.⁵⁸

It must be conceded that Seneca's attempts in *Phaedra* to present the illusion of a staged drama are intermittent. After the departure from the stage of Phaedra and the Nurse at the end of their impassioned dialogue (271–3) there follows immediately an ode recited by a Chorus who do not explain their arrival or state who they are. The ode on the destructive and subversive power of love is remote and general in its application; only at the last line does it turn to the particular situation with the oblique comment that even a stepmother is conquered by love. The Chorus then enter the action by asking the Nurse, as in Euripides' *Hippolytus*, about the state of the queen's passion (356–9). They denounce Phaedra's plot to feign rape as a monstrous crime (824–8). The Chorus as onlookers on the action have a minimal part. They signal the arrival of a person of noble bearing but squalid in appearance, whom they then recognize as Theseus returned from the Underworld (829–34). They also announce the arrival of the Messenger (989–90) and Phaedra's entry sword in hand (1154–5), and counsel Theseus to proceed with the funeral rites for Hippolytus.⁵⁹

The attention of the audience is drawn to scenery and stage machinery at the three places where the inside of the palace is displayed, first to show Phaedra lying on her bed of sickness (384–6),⁶⁰ secondly when Theseus orders the palace doors to be unbolted to reveal Phaedra planning suicide (873), and finally for the lamentation at the end of the play (1275). There is vigorous physical action on the stage when Hippolytus in innocence lifts the fainting Phaedra (588), but when after

⁵⁸ Zwierlein (1966) concludes that Senecan tragedy was intended for recitation only. B. Walker, rev. Zwierlein, *C.P.* 64 (1969) 183–7, argues for the possibility of stage performances of Seneca. D. Bain, *Actors and audience* (Oxford 1977) 9 n. 1, defends Zwierlein's approach. W. M. Calder III, *C.J.* 77 (1976) 1–11, favours performance of Seneca in small private theatres in the time of Nero; see also *id.* *C.P.* 79 (1984) 225–6.

⁵⁹ The final scene gains in dignity if lines 1256–61 are attributed, as in the A tradition followed by Zwierlein (1987), to Theseus and not to the Chorus.

⁶⁰ There is probably a reminiscence here of Greek stage machinery: see Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 811.

her declaration of passion she comes forward to embrace him, he twists her hair, bends her head backwards, and is on the point of slaying her with his sword (706–9). Hippolytus' sword is a dramatically significant stage property. Thrown aside by Hippolytus as polluted when Phaedra grasps it (713–14), it is used as a token to identify Hippolytus as the alleged perpetrator of rape (896–900). Phaedra enters sword in hand and, seeing the remains of Hippolytus, kills herself (1157–98) on the stage.⁶¹

There is a major problem of consistency between Phaedra's final distraught lamentation and the scene that follows. Theseus' initial question to Phaedra asking why she laments over the hated corpse (1156–8) and her uncontrollable grief and remorse on seeing the mangled body (1198) presuppose that a recognizable part of the remains of Hippolytus had been brought in. The later part of the messenger speech describes the gathering for funeral rites of the scattered pieces, but the formal funeral preparations over them do not occur until the final scene (1244–74).⁶²

The final scene of *Phaedra*, in which the available parts of the body of Hippolytus are assembled for their due funeral rites, has occasioned ridicule from Seneca's detractors. To stage the scene would demand some difficult movements by the actors and tolerant imagination on the part of the audience.⁶³ The literary sensibilities of the audience for recited drama may have been blunted by the nature of contemporary public shows.⁶⁴ The most notorious lines

⁶¹ Suicide on the stage is not unparalleled in Greek tragedy, e.g. Soph. *Ajax* 965. The manner of Phaedra's death is restrained compared with the rhetorical exhibitionism of Iocasta's suicide at *Oed.* 1036–9, which has a real life counterpart in Agrippina's demand to her killers that they strike the part that bore Nero (Tac. *Ann.* 14.8.5). In the age of Nero rhetorical attitudes were struck in life as well as in literature.

⁶² The inconsistency is discussed thoroughly by Zwierlein (1966) 13–24, who regards it and the gruesome nature of the final scene as firm evidence that *Phaedra* was drama for recitation.

⁶³ S. Fortey and J. Glucker, *Latomus* 34 (1975) 699–715, seem to underestimate the difficulties, as does Sutton (1986) 50–3.

⁶⁴ For the spectacles in the amphitheatre see J.P.V.D. Balsdon, *Life and leisure in ancient Rome* (London 1969) 298–302. Seneca (*Epist.* 7.3–5) was aware of the danger of a man being brutalized by the slaughter of the games, which he found repulsive (cf. *Tranq.* 2.13); see also Williams 184–90.

quae pars tui sit dubito; sed pars est tui:
 hic, hic repone, non suo, at uacuo loco
 (1267–8)

(What part of you it is I do not know, but it is a part of you:
 Here place it not in its proper place, but in one that is empty)

are intended as a deliberate shock, an example of enhanced horror, a verbal *tour de force* at the climax of a black rhetorical melodrama.⁶⁵ It is not easy to commend this scene, but it must be evaluated in the historical perspective of the tastes of the age of Claudius and Nero.

6. RHETORICAL ELEMENTS

No previous writer had a greater influence on Seneca the tragedian than Ovid both as poet and as dramatist. Of equal importance was the influence of the systematic rhetoric that by the time of Ovid had begun to dominate all branches of literature and to seep into all aspects of Roman life and thought. Ovid was the first major poet who had earned fame as a virtuoso performer of declamations, the practice and display pieces which had become the basic component of education.⁶⁶ His declamations were described as poetry in prose. Of the two main kinds he preferred the *suasoriae* (deliberative speeches) to the *controversiae* (formal debates) as he disliked argumentation. We owe the information about Ovid's eloquence to the elder Seneca, the father of the tragedian, who near the end of his life (c. A.D. 37) compiled for his sons a collection of the *suasoriae* and *controversiae* of the famous rhetoricians whom he had heard.⁶⁷ These pieces contain much that by any standard has a banal

⁶⁵ Barrett 44, who cites Euripides' *Bacchae* as containing grisly dismemberments, censures Seneca's scene as a 'grisly jigsaw', a common appellation. Seneca produced a piece of rhetorical horror of the kind for which theorists such as Quintilian used the Greek term *deinosis* (there was no Latin equivalent) e.g. *Inst.* 6.2.24; see M. Coffey, *P.A.C.A.* 3 (1960) 16.

⁶⁶ On declamation see Bonner 54–60 and for its influence on Seneca's tragedies 160–7; cf. id. *Education in ancient Rome* (London 1977) esp. 250–87. See also D.A. Russell, *Greek declamation* (Cambridge 1983) 1–20.

⁶⁷ See esp. *Contr.* 2.2.8–12. The Loeb edition of the elder Seneca by M. Winterbottom, 2 vols. (Harvard and London 1974), is much to be recommended; see also L. A. Sussman, *The elder Seneca* (Leiden 1978) and J. A. Fairweather, *Seneca the elder* (Cambridge 1981). On Ovid and rhetoric see G. Kennedy, *The art of rhetoric in the Roman world* (Princeton 1972) 405–19.

superficiality and exaggerated sensationalism, but no Roman of consequence in the early empire could have escaped declamation as an obligatory part of his education.

Some aspects of the rhetoric in Seneca's tragedies derive from the dramatic tradition developed by Euripides, others from the forceful rhetorical elements that are found in the literature of the Roman republic and of the Augustan period, such as the speeches of the *Aeneid*.⁶⁸ But *Phaedra*, like all dramas of Seneca, is characteristic of the post-Ovidian period in which rhetoric is all-pervasive in the shaping of scenes and in details of phrase.

The greater part of the scene between *Phaedra* and the Nurse in Act I has many features of a *controversia* on the theme of whether violent sexual passion can be conquered: *Phaedra* argues for an inevitable capitulation and the Nurse for the obligation to control wild desires. *Phaedra*'s initial speech performs the function of a dramatic prologue, expounding the background to her infatuation but also stating that the unnatural passion of a princess of the accursed Cretan line is inescapable. The formal structure of the debate that arises out of the dramatic situation is well balanced. *Phaedra*'s speech is answered by one of comparable length by the Nurse. There are then two shorter antithetical speeches after which there are shorter exchanges followed by a fierce verbal combat with change of speaker within the line (239–45). Seneca then alters the *color* or angle of the rhetoric.⁶⁹ The Nurse appeals to *Phaedra* as an old, loving family retainer. *Phaedra* abandons her arguments for indulging in passion but is now resolved on suicide. Formal rhetoric is now subordinated to dramatic action.

In the following act the speech of the Nurse beseeching Hippolytus to forsake the joyless austerity of his way of life (435–82) suggests, in addition to the demands of the dramatic tradition, the gambit of a *suasoria* in which, in order to induce him to accept the advances of *Phaedra*, she advocates the pleasures of youth, the gaiety of city life and the necessity of sex in nature. The arguments though unsubtle are well marshalled. By contrast Hippolytus' long and diffuse speech in reply

⁶⁸ On the earliest rhetorical elements in Rome see F. Leo, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* (Berlin 1913) 34–46; on Virgil, G. Highet, *The speeches in Vergil's Aeneid* (Princeton 1972).

⁶⁹ On *color* see, e.g., Sen. Contr. 1.8.15 and for an ironical example Juv. 6.280 and Courtney *ad loc.*

(483–564) seems ineffective both as rhetorical argumentation and as the presentation of a *persona* in a dramatic action.⁷⁰

The influence of silver age rhetoric may also be found in the lengthy messenger speech, an intense display of sensational horror (991–1114). Like similar virtuoso examples of *ekphrasis* or *descriptio* (rhetorical description piece) in other plays, display has become an end in itself at the expense of dramatic structure.⁷¹

One of the most noteworthy features of both prose and verse literature of the early empire is the *sententia*, the pithy moral maxim seen at its best in Tacitus' historical writing and Lucan's historical epic *De bello civili*. The following may be taken as a characteristic instance from *Phaedra*:

quod non potest uult posse qui nimium potest
(215)⁷²

(a man with excessive power desires a power that is unattainable).

7. ASPECTS OF LITERARY CRAFTSMANSHIP

(1) THE CHORUS

The anapaestic prologue of *Phaedra* has something of a lyrical impact with a contrast between the immediate and naturalistic and what is remote and idealized. Hippolytus describes the bustle of the chase and the happy return of the country folk, their waggon loaded with game. The description of Attica is for the most part an alluring poetic travelogue. Hunting is represented on a remote plane in the formal appeal to Diana. As is fitting for the supreme deity of the chase, her chosen terrain

⁷⁰ Contrast the tautness of Hippolytus' tirade against women in Euripides, *Hipp.* 616–68.

⁷¹ For the rhetorical storm see Sen. *Ag.* 421–578, Sen. *Contr.* 7.1.4 and Winterbottom's note *ad loc.*

⁷² Some other examples from *Phaedra* occur at 139, 440–1, 593, 735, 820. For Seneca's use of *sententiae* see 215n. and Canter (1925) 84–99. On the *sententia* in general see Quint. *Inst.* 8.5.1–34 and Syme 143 (with special reference to Lucan and Tacitus).

includes the furthest lands of the known world and her prey its fiercest and strongest wild animals.⁷³

After the Nurse's resolve to intercede with Hippolytus, a long chorus consisting of a sequence of unbroken sapphic hendecasyllabics (274–324) followed by less inflexible anapaests (325–57) proclaims the universal and ineluctable power of love and sex. The shafts of Cupido, son of Venus, which act inexorably throughout the world to all its cardinal points, influence the young and rekindle energies weakened by age. In the next main topic, the transformation of gods, goddesses and heroes in search of the object of their desires, the example of Jupiter as the bull who carried Europa on his back is narrated with an Ovidian gracefulness and wit. But the example of Hercules' love for Omphale, though making an ironical contrast between his preternatural strength and the effeminate accoutrements of his slavery, is protracted and is allowed to straddle awkwardly into the anapaestic system. The rest of the anapaests catalogue the impact of sex on the inhabitants of land and sea. In a final change of perspective, love is presented as a power which can make long-standing hatred abate, even that of an impassioned stepmother. The transition is thus easy for the Chorus' enquiry of the Nurse about the state of Phaedra's passion.

The lengthy catalogue of love in the domain of men, gods and animals lacks coherent structure and its culmination in a reference to great sea animals and elephants has in context a bathetic incongruity, untouched by Ovidian wit, that is not easily condoned. As not infrequently in Seneca felicitous details are engulfed by a cumbersome whole that is lacking in dignity.

The second choral ode, which is placed immediately after the Nurse's deceitful cry of rape that follows Hippolytus' precipitous departure, celebrates his handsome form and warns of the dangers that accompany peerless beauty. The chorus makes vivacious use of different metrical forms and frequent similes and illustrative *exempla*. There is a warning that beauty is to be seized upon for immediate enjoyment as it is of short duration and is inexorably undermined by time. The quasi-Epicurean

⁷³ In late republican and early imperial times in Italy the pleasures of the hunt were enjoyed by the upper classes and their servants (see e.g. Varr. *Men.* 293–303B; Sall. *Cat.* 4.1; Plin. *Epist.* 1.6) and the spectacle of wild animals belonged to the experience of mass audiences at the games, Balsdon (n. 64) 302–13.

sentiments, based on a poetic *locus communis*, are elegantly expressed.⁷⁴ They also reinforce the exhortation to Hippolytus by the Nurse that the pleasures of life ought to be grasped eagerly. The final section of the lyrics includes what is uniquely relevant to Hippolytus, a reference to a tough virility in cast of features that is an echo of Phaedra's impassioned plea and to an appearance different from that of Apollo in wearing his hair shorter but in more disorderly fashion. This apposite description, momentarily spoiled by an appeal to the routine examples of the brawny muscle-men Hercules and Mars, concludes with an ironically appropriate mention of Hippolytus' horsemanship. The chorus ends ominously with a prayer that Hippolytus may survive the hazards of beauty. The ode is for the most part intrinsically effective and firmly marks a stage in the development of the drama.

After Theseus' curse on Hippolytus there follows a compact chorus in anapaestic metre (959–88). It poses the question why nature as parent of the gods and the ruler of Olympus, who controls the movement of the stars, the orderly sequence of the seasons and the balance of the huge mass of the universe, yet remains remote and indifferent to good and evil among men. The reply offered is that human affairs are governed by a blind chance in a way that favours villainy, whereby men of integrity are overwhelmed by destructive lust, and deception in palaces is paramount. The unadorned language and the simple anapaestic metre are well suited to the stark nihilistic bleakness of the sentiments.

The final choral ode (1123–53) follows shortly after the messenger speech. Its main theme is the hazard of high position in face of *Fortuna* as compared to the safety and peace of mind of the lowly. The later part of the ode applies the principle of fickle *Fortuna* to Theseus, who escaped from the Underworld into the light of day but found great sorrow at home. The chorus, which ends with a characteristic Senecan *sententia* and financial metaphor (1153), unlike the other choral odes, is of immediate dramatic relevance.

II IMAGERY

To achieve a full assessment of the use of imagery by a dramatic poet would require a systematic literary analysis of the play. Let it suffice

⁷⁴ The theme of *carpe diem* suggests most of all the lyrics of Horace, particularly *C.* 1.11.8 (see N–H *ad loc.*).

here to indicate some outstanding aspects of Seneca's imagery, separating the formally organized device of simile, which enriches its surroundings by standing apart from them, and metaphor which permeates the fabric of the poetry, sometimes supporting the impact of the simile.

The principal similes are part of the presentation of the chief personages. Phaedra compares the evil desires that are within her to the jets of hot steam that pour from the crater of the volcano Aetna (101-3). The simile of scalding steam from the volcano is reinforced by metaphors of destructive fire, especially that which affects the gods including Vulcan, the deity who stokes the furnace in Aetna (190-1). Phaedra also likens her passion to a quick-moving flame that runs the length of wooden beams (644). This simile is preceded by fire metaphors (640-3) which in turn are echoes of the inner blazing fire mentioned by the Nurse as part of Phaedra's morbid symptoms (361).⁷⁵ The image of the fire of passion, by itself a cliché of literary language, is revived by Seneca's varied handling of the theme, which is allowed to suggest to the audience some reminiscence of the passion of Dido.⁷⁶ The other main aspect of Phaedra's ordeal, the efforts of her intellect and will to subdue her passion, gives rise to the simile of the helmsman who uses his skill in vain to control his laden vessel against overwhelming seas (181-3).⁷⁷ Yet another facet of Phaedra's behaviour, her incessant weeping, is compared hyperbolically to melting snows on the ridges of the mountains of Taurus in the Caucasus (382-3), a kind of simile with a rich progeny in English dramatic poetry.

Different aspects of Hippolytus evoke a wide range of similes. He rebuffs the Nurse's defence of womankind just as a rock that is unassailable on all sides hurls back the onslaught of the waves (580-2), an apt illustration of isolated intransigence. The speed of his flight from the scene of polluting impurity gives rise to routine similes of storm and meteor with a fiery tail (736-40). But it is as illustration of Hippolytus' handsome appearance that a variety of figures abounds. He is compared

⁷⁵ On fire imagery in *Phaedra* see N. T. Pratt, *T.A.P.A.* 94 (1963) 220-2, who does not distinguish adequately the essential from the peripheral. On the volcano simile see W. -L. Liebermann, *Studien zu Senecas Tragödien* (Meisenheim 1974) 95, who provides in general a well-balanced account of simile (85-110) and metaphor (110-37).

⁷⁶ Virg. *Aen.* 4.54 and 66-7.

⁷⁷ Cf. *Ag.* 139-43.

by the Chorus to the full moon in resplendent glory that makes the stars insignificant and also to the brilliance of the evening star (744–52). The imagery, which is traditional, is presented with ornate decoration, but the comparison acquires intense poignancy when the Messenger contrasts his hideously mangled corpse with his erstwhile star-like beauty (1110–12). The Chorus enjoins caution concerning the vulnerability and evanescence of beauty, referring to the baking of the spring meadows by the fierce heat of the summer solstice and the quick withering of the loveliness of roses and lilies (761–9). Traditional criteria for the precariousness of beauty accord well with the prayer for Hippolytus' safety at the end of the ode.⁷⁸ In skilfully driving his team of horses that are crazed with panic at the attack of the sea-monster Hippolytus is compared to an expert helmsman (1072–4). A similar comparison, which suggests itself easily, occurs at the corresponding place in Euripides' *Hippolytus* (1221–2). Seneca is much indebted to the imagery of his predecessors, which adds both dignity and richness to his adaptation of the tradition.

One of the most striking aspects of Seneca's images is his personification of abstract notions, a procedure all the more persuasive to a Roman audience on account of the wide range of personified figures and notions that were accorded appropriate reverence and the status of divinity.⁷⁹ Phaedra's statement of her emotional and moral impasse, that reason is helpless (*quid ratio possit*), is followed immediately by the admission that wild passion has conquered and has control over the whole person (184–5). The personified notion of *furor* as a military conqueror is identified by Phaedra with a divine external power, the god of sex. The Nurse denies the existence of Love as a deity external to human beings⁸⁰ but portrays coarse lust (*libido*) as the grim companion of high position (206). The angle of the rhetoric is changed completely when the Nurse, anxious to persuade Hippolytus, depicts Love (*Amor*) as the rider who puts a bit on the undisciplined and mollifies hate (574–5). A gnomic maxim of villainous import is given pungent force by the introduction of personification: 'shame' (*pudor*) is a bad servant of tyranny (430). Such personifications do not form a consistent pattern. Each derives its strength from the rhetoric of the immediate context.

⁷⁸ Cf. Ov. *A.A.* 2.115–16.

⁷⁹ See J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and change in Roman religion* (Oxford 1979) 51–2 and 175–8; cf. the sneer at Juv. 1. 113–16.

⁸⁰ The refutation of the plea of helplessness against the goddess of love is found in Eur. *Tro.* 983–90.

The connection between Phaedra's physical enervation and her psychological and moral malaise is fundamental to the play, notably in the Nurse's description of her symptoms (360–86). There is likewise a connection between sound health of body and mind and moral virtue in many ancient philosophical precepts, particularly those of the Stoics. This occurs in the gnomic commonplace uttered by the Nurse that to wish for a cure is part of the cure (249). Phaedra's confession that she made a lying accusation in a state of madness when her whole emotional being was insane (1193) is part of the portrayal of the morbidly neurotic queen at the moment of her final agony, but the frequent use in *Phaedra* of *insanus* applied to the sea (e.g. 351), a violent storm (736) or a northerly gale (1130) may suggest the representation of a universe in which wild irrationality in the world of men and women corresponds to a cosmic disorder,⁸¹ though the sceptical reader may prefer to dismiss such repetitions as facile stock responses.

Seneca has a penchant for technical metaphors of a kind not normally associated with Latin high poetry. The Nurse warns Phaedra that a monster is to be assigned to fate, but crime to the moral disposition (144). The metaphor is from the financial sphere, the accounts of the bookkeeper. Likewise a choral ode ends with the metaphor of an account that tallies: the accounts of the Underworld are balanced by the death of Hippolytus after the return of Theseus to the upper world (1153). A grim unpoetical metaphor underlines the harsh immutability of fate.⁸² Such imagery is a significant part of the language used by Seneca in the psychological and ethical presentation of the persons in his tragic dramas.⁸³

8. LITERARY AND PHILOSOPHICAL INTERPRETATION

Mythological tales of uncontrolled passion in Roman literature had counterparts in real life. The adulteries in the family of Augustus caused grave scandal. In the time of Claudius Messalina, the nymphomaniac

⁸¹ *Insanus* is used of the sea at 351, 700 and 1130; it occurs more frequently in *Phaedra* than in *H.F.*

⁸² Note the sensational financial imagery at *Oed.* 942; cf. *Thy.* 426–7.

⁸³ There are useful thoughts on the imagery of *Phaedra* in D. and E. Henry (1985) 149–56. See also A. Primmer, 'Die Vergleiche in Senecas Dramen', *Grazer Beiträge* 5 (1976) 211–32, esp. 214–21.

wife of the emperor, was forced to die because of a shameless adultery, and the marriage of the emperor to Agrippina, the daughter of his brother, was saved from the stigma of unnatural union only by special decree of the senate.⁸⁴

In his prose works Seneca was concerned with the destructive power of the passions. In his long treatise *De ira* he uses his powerful rhetorical prose to analyse the devastating force of the passions, particularly anger, which if allowed to gain control of the reason leads to irrational actions, madness and a total collapse of the personality. The indications of physical deterioration described in *De ira* have affinities with those of Phaedra's symptoms.⁸⁵ Phaedra realizes the force of *furor* (violent passion) that attacks her rational being (*ratio*) but is unable to control it. It is arguable that Hippolytus is destroyed both by his own unrestrained anger and by 'Theseus' uncontrolled desire for vengeance.⁸⁶ Seneca the philosopher was also much concerned with problems of moral responsibility. His attitude to the notion of 'will' is notoriously intractable and, as it seems, does not allow a firm formulation. It will be sufficient for the interpretation of the tragedies to note that in a number of passages crime seems to be a result of wrong judgement by the intellect.⁸⁷ But while constant reference to the prose works is important for the elucidation and evaluation of the tragedies, Seneca the rhetorical playwright was bound primarily by the trend of the dramatic action so as to relegate the dogmatic positions of the Stoic *sapiens* to a secondary place.⁸⁸

In Seneca the dramatic interest is concentrated primarily on the

⁸⁴ For the disgrace of the family of Augustus see R. Syme, *The Augustan aristocracy* (Oxford 1986) 90–2, 121–2. On Messalina's final excesses see Tac. *Ann.* 11.26–38 and for Claudius' marriage to Agrippina 12.5–7.

⁸⁵ Compare *De ira* 2.36.4–5 with *Phaedra* 360–80, where Seneca is also making use of Eur. *Hipp.* 198–211.

⁸⁶ On Phaedra's inability to control *furor* see particularly 177–85. On her *furor* see D. Henry and B. Walker, *G. & R.* 13 (1966) 223–39 esp. 226–8, and E. Lefèvre, *W. St.* 3 (1969) 131–60 esp. 147 (= Lefèvre (1972) 343–75). Lefèvre sees the play exclusively in Stoic terms.

⁸⁷ See A. Dihle in his valuable work, *The theory of will in classical antiquity* (Berkeley 1982) 134–5 and 240 n. 84. The problem of will and knowledge in Seneca is discussed by J. M. Rist, *Stoic philosophy* (Cambridge 1969) 223–32; see also A. A. Long, *Hellenistic philosophy* (London 1986²) 206–8.

⁸⁸ Max Pohlenz examines differences between Seneca's prose works and tragedies in *Die Stoa* (Göttingen 1948–9) 324–7 (see Coffey (1957) 157).

successive stages of Phaedra's infatuation and its consequences. Hippolytus is of less importance to Seneca than to Euripides. In Act I Phaedra's passion is described by the Nurse not as a monstrous act ordained by fate, such as her mother's union with the bull, but as a crime to be attributed to human behaviour (*moribus*). Phaedra admits that, though she is moving towards disaster in full knowledge, wild passion (*furor*) has prevailed. Her feelings are condemned by her interlocutor as lust (*libido*).⁸⁹ Phaedra's desire to pursue Hippolytus meets with moral censure until in response to the Nurse's appeal she threatens suicide in order to retain some degree of moral good repute. What is in form a rhetorical *controversia* is in substance a highly charged exploration of Phaedra's predicament, in which she analyses her intellectual and emotional state with alert self-awareness.

By contrast in Act II she is passive, mentally inconstant and physically debilitated. In an aside intended to be unheard by Hippolytus she asserts that by the mere recognition that she is in love she has already sinned and may therefore abandon her inhibitions (*pudor*) and take the initiative towards the object of her love. This argument marks a stage in her moral degeneration. Seneca presents the process with finesse. Phaedra refuses to be called 'mother' by Hippolytus, alludes to his physical appeal and the likelihood of her being a widow (623), while Hippolytus misunderstands the trend of her desires, referring to her children as his brothers. In her declaration of illicit sexual desire that is spiced with undertones of incestuous longing Phaedra asserts that she is in love with the physical attractions of the young Theseus but now yearns for the young Hippolytus, who has the same allure to which are added the untamed traits of a barbaric Amazon mother. Seneca thus offers a perceptive insight into the darker places of the psyche.⁹⁰ In a situation of mounting tension Phaedra's verbal rejection by Hippolytus is followed by physical rebuff that prepares the way immediately after the departure of Hippolytus for the Nurse's lying accusation of rape. In the next Act on the return of Theseus Phaedra swears a false oath and testifies that in spite of her resistance she was ravished. As perjurer and

⁸⁹ Line 196. *Libido* is a harsh, explicit word. It occurs four times in *Phaedra* (196, 207, 542, 981) and only once in the other genuine plays (*Tro.* 285).

⁹⁰ See for example the sober study by R. Giomini, *Saggio sulla Fedra di Seneca* (Rome 1955) 62–6.

indirect destroyer of the innocent her moral degeneration has reached its lowest point.

In the next scene Phaedra, distraught and in deep remorse, promises to absolve herself from her crime by taking her own life (1176). She seeks to appease by her death the shade of Hippolytus, hoping that their fates will be united in death, looks for forgiveness in death and immediately before her suicide makes a public proclamation of her calumnious deceit and of the integrity and purity of Hippolytus.⁹¹

Seneca's portrayal of Phaedra is complex. In Act I she analyses her turbulent emotions in dialogue almost dispassionately and in the next lies in a state of physical and mental exhaustion. This may be seen not as the cumbersome mingling of different sources but as a deliberate attempt to present different aspects of the same person, particularly as the diminution of energies is followed by a loss of moral integrity.⁹² Her final attempt, before her long-desired death at her own hands, to vindicate Hippolytus' innocence and to salvage something of her own good reputation is tautly expressed and, within the framework of rhetorical drama, depicts with economy love, grief and a wish for moral atonement. While it would be unwise to interpret *Phaedra* primarily as the portrayal of a unique character such as is found in some later European literatures, it is permissible to view one aspect of Seneca's intention as the portrayal of the ruin of a person in whom emotion and intellect struggle with disastrous results.⁹³

The presentation of Hippolytus is uncomplicated. He is the joyful and innocent huntsman under the tutelage of Diana, but also the polemical defender of the ways of the woodlander, who denounces Phaedra and recoils from her advances. Apart from the initial call to the hunt his *persona* is for the most part made up of pieces of angry rhetoric. Theseus is uninteresting as a dramatic personage. Without seeking any corroboration

⁹¹ On this scene see R. F. Merzlak, 'Furor in Seneca's *Phaedra*', in C. Deraux, ed., *Studies in Latin literature and Roman history* (Coll. Latomus 180, 1983) III 193–210, esp. 194.

⁹² But see Grimal (1963) 309. In general Grimal's article is one of the best essays on *Phaedra* (= Lefèvre (1972) 321–42).

⁹³ A. J. Boyle, *A.N.R.W.* II 32.2 (1985) 1328–34 sees Phaedra primarily in terms of character portrayal and refers to C. Garton, *C.P.* 54 (1959) 1–9. But caution is necessary. The dramaturgy that is appropriate for Hedda Gabler is not suited to Seneca's Phaedra.

ration he believes Phaedra's lying accusation, arraigns his son's righteousness as hypocrisy, and condemns him to a horrible death by a prayer to Neptune. When he learns the truth, rational self-reproach is soon lost in a wild extravaganza of atrocious punishments that he wishes for himself.

The most convincing interpreters of Seneca's tragedies have based their work primarily on an exploration of the sheer intensity of the depiction of violent and destructive emotions and have accorded an important but secondary place to Stoic philosophy.⁹⁴ Senecan tragedy draws on a world that is overwhelmingly evil and receives its expression in a clamorous rhetoric.⁹⁵ Each play must be judged according to the criteria which are appropriate to the author's handling of its subject. *Phaedra* lacks the element of political moralizing that is important in some of the plays, notably *Thyestes*, but like *Medea* it is a study of a family milieu which is wrenched asunder with explosive force by uncontrolled passion; it demands a delicate balance between literary and moral evaluation. The extent to which Seneca projected philosophical belief into his tragic writing will remain an area for fruitful discussion.⁹⁶

Seneca is a disconcertingly uneven writer who sometimes lapses into a facile and hyperbolic rhetoric, a fault that he shares with Lucan. Though Senecan tragedy does not attain the splendour of Lucan's noblest passages, both writers have a flawed greatness in which the whole is unbalanced, but the most significant parts are the most important legacy of the high poetry composed in the silver age of Latin literature.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ The most fundamental scholarly reappraisals of Seneca's tragedies have been: O. Regenbogen, 'Schmerz und Tod in den Tragödien Senecas', *Vortr. Bibl. Warburg* 1927-8 (Leipzig-Berlin 1930) 167-218, also available separately (Darmstadt 1963); see Coffey (1957) 151-2; and Pohlenz (n. 88) 324-7. C. J. Herington in *CHCL* II 519-30 gives a judicious general account.

⁹⁵ On Seneca's tragedy of evil see I. Opelt in Lefèvre (1972) 92-128. See also D. and E. Henry (1985).

⁹⁶ Stoic elements are important in Tarrant (1985) 22-5; Fantham (1982) 15-19 is more sceptical. But *Thyestes* and *Troades* are fundamentally different plays.

⁹⁷ Parallel to Regenbogen's work on Seneca's tragedies (see n. 94) is the equally fundamental study of Lucan by E. Fraenkel, 'Lucan als Mittler des antiken Pathos', *Vortr. Bibl. Warburg* 1924-5 (Leipzig-Berlin 1927) 229-57 = *Kleine Beiträge* (Rome 1964) II 233-60.

9. THE MANUSCRIPTS AND THE TRANSMISSION OF THE TEXT

The tradition of the MSS of Seneca's tragedies is divided into two main categories. The older branch is represented by E, Florence Laur. 37.13, the so-called codex Etruscus, an Italian manuscript of the late eleventh century written in an agreeable Carolingian minuscule and probably the manuscript included in the catalogue of A.D. 1093 of the abbey of Pomposa, a foundation east of Ferrara in the Po delta.⁹⁸

A small group of fourteenth-century manuscripts deriving from Σ, a lost copy of E, which was contaminated by the other main tradition (A), is of value only in those places such as *Phae.* 148 where it can be used to determine the original reading of E in which E has been erased by a later hand.⁹⁹

In the E tradition the plays of the Senecan corpus are listed as follows: *Hercules* (i.e. *Furens*), *Troades*, *Phoenissae*, *Medea*, *Phaedra*, *Oedipus*, *Agamemnon*, *Thyestes*, *Hercules* (i.e. *Oetaeus*).

The other branch of the transmission, usually referred to as A, the interpolated tradition, represents not a single extant MS but a consensus of the readings of the earliest and most important of the very large number of MSS that add to the Senecan corpus *Octavia*, a *fabula praetexta*. In the A tradition the plays are listed in an order different from that found in E; there are also some changes of title: *Hercules Furens*, *Thyestes*, *Thebais* (i.e. *Phoenissae*), *Hippolytus* (i.e. *Phaedra*), *Oedipus*, *Troades* (or *Troas*), *Medea*, *Agamemnon*, *Octavia*, *Hercules Oetaeus*.¹⁰⁰ The most important MSS of the A tradition are:

- P Parisinus Lat. 8260, a MS copied in N. France in the first half of the thirteenth century.
- T Parisinus Lat. 8031, a recently discovered manuscript of the fifteenth

⁹⁸ There are illustrations of E in Zwierlein (1984) pls. 1, 2, 4-6 and a good description in Tarrant (1976) 24-7.

⁹⁹ On the Σ group see Tarrant (1976) 28-32, 63-8 and Zwierlein (1984) 72-80.

¹⁰⁰ B. Axelson, *Korruptelenkult* (Lund 1967), regards the *H.O.* as totally spurious. See also Coffey (1957) 140-2, but the matter is not finally settled. On *Octavia* see C. J. Herington, *C.Q.* 11 (1961) 18-30 and *CHCL* II 530-2.

century, a more valuable witness to the A tradition than its date suggests.¹⁰¹

- C Cambridge Corpus Christi College 406, early thirteenth century, probably written in England.
- S Scorialensis (Escorial) 108 T. III 11, a MS written in Italy probably in the later part of the thirteenth century. It has marginalia in the handwriting of Petrarch.¹⁰²
- V Vaticanus Lat. 2829, a MS of uncertain origin and of late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century date.

PTCSV are the most reliable witnesses to the northern and Italian branches of the A tradition. There are almost four hundred later MSS of this tradition, many of which have not been fully collated.¹⁰³ It is unlikely, though not impossible, that some hidden treasure remains undiscovered. Much attention has been paid to the classification of different parts of the A tradition, but the complex problems that arise lie outside the scope of the present edition.¹⁰⁴

The readings of E often exemplify corruption through careless error and scribal incomprehension, whereas the A tradition has often been falsified by interpolation, deliberate changes frequently based on defective knowledge.¹⁰⁵ The editor usually has a simple choice between E and

¹⁰¹ See A. P. Macgregor, *Philologus* 122 (1978) 88–110 and O. Zwierlein, *Gnomon* 49 (1977) 568–70. The other A MSS listed here are described in detail by Tarrant (1976) 32–6.

¹⁰² Most scholars have assigned this MS to the fourteenth century. A. C. De la Mare, *J.W.I.* 40 (1977) 286–90 argues for the earlier date and is supported by Zwierlein (1984) 107–114, who discusses Petrarch's marginalia.

¹⁰³ See A. P. MacGregor, 'The manuscripts of Seneca's tragedies: a handlist' *A.N.R.W.* 11 32.2 (1985) 1134–241. He pays tribute to the critical work of three scholars killed in the First World War, C. E. Stuart, *C.Q.* 5 (1911) 32–41 and 6 (1912) 1–20, Th. Düring, *Hermes* 47 (1912) 183–98 and W. Hoffa, *ibid.* 49 (1914) 464–75.

¹⁰⁴ In addition to Tarrant (1976) and Zwierlein (1984) the following are useful studies of the A tradition: W. Woesler, *Senecas Tragödien, Die Überlieferung der α-Klasse dargestellt am Beispiel der Phaedra* (Neuwied 1965); R. H. Philp, *C.Q.* 18 (1968) 150–79; A. P. MacGregor, *T.A.P.A.* 102 (1971) 327–56; R. H. Rouse, *Rev. d'histoire des textes* 1 (1971) 93–121; id. *J.W.I.* 40 (1977) 283–6; R. J. Tarrant in L. D. Reynolds, ed., *Texts and transmission* (Oxford 1983) 379.

¹⁰⁵ For a short list of characteristic errors of both E and A see Tarrant (1976) 60–2.

A. Variants within the A tradition, though of intrinsic interest for the history of the textual transmission, are only occasionally important for the text of *Phaedra* (e.g. 350 and 452). PT are closely akin, and CSV are usually in agreement with one another.

Information of secondary importance is provided both by the mediaeval *florilegia*, the anthologies that included or were devoted to short excerpts from Seneca's tragedies, and also by learned authors who incorporated in their work a substantial number of quotations from the tragedies. With two early exceptions the mediaeval *florilegia* and sources of quotations are all based on the A tradition and are an important indication of the spread of interest in Senecan tragedy.¹⁰⁶ The first important edition of Seneca's tragedies was that of Ascensius (Paris 1514) followed by the Aldine edition of Jerome Avantius (Venice 1517), which contained some E readings.

The first great edition of the complete Senecan corpus was that of Johann Friedrich Gronovius (Amsterdam 1662); a second edition was produced by his son Jakob (Jacobus) in 1682. Gronovius was the first editor to make E the basis of his work, which is distinguished by a deep understanding of silver age Latin usage. The next major edition was that of Friedrich Leo (1878–9), a wide-ranging scholar of excellent judgement, who based his edition for the most part on E alone. In spite of its limitations Leo's critical edition together with the volume of *observationes criticae* is a major work of scholarship.¹⁰⁷

After a series of unsatisfactory editions of the whole corpus there appeared the edition of I. C. Giardina in two volumes (Bologna 1966), which presented for the first time a full reporting of the manuscript tradition, in itself an important achievement. However Giardina's judgement in choice of readings is frequently fallible.¹⁰⁸ Fortunately the critical edition of O. Zwierlein (Oxford 1986) offers a soundly based text with a clear uncluttered *apparatus criticus* and sound editorial judgement. Problems remain, but thanks especially to the labours of Zwierlein and

¹⁰⁶ Zwierlein (1984) 175–81 summarizes the importance of the *florilegia* and quotations for the transmission of the tragedies.

¹⁰⁷ The Loeb Classical Library edition by F. J. Miller, 2 vols. (1917) is based on Leo's text.

¹⁰⁸ See E. Courtney's review in *C.R.* 18 (1968) 173–7. Tarrant (1976) 87–94 comments critically on all editions of note from Ascensius to Giardina.

the other modern scholars mentioned earlier (n. 104) discussion is on a much firmer basis than was possible a quarter of a century ago.

10. THE INFLUENCE OF SENECA'S TRAGEDIES AND OF THE PHAEDRA MYTH

The story of Hippolytus and Phaedra was a major theme for both poets and artists in imperial times. Juvenal (10.325–45) uses the *exemplum* of the destruction of Hippolytus to illustrate the fate of the hapless consul elect C. Silius, trapped by the adulterous machinations of Messalina.

The theme was rich also in material for painters and for sculptors in relief work not merely in Italy but also in provinces of the Roman empire such as Gaul. The elder Pliny in his survey of the work of the famous painters of the past mentions a notable portrayal of Hippolytus' alarm at the attack of the bull (Plin. *N.H.* 35.114; cf. 99).¹⁰⁹ The remains of Pompeii suggest that the Hippolytus theme had a vogue, especially at the time of the Neronian fourth style and of the Flavian years, in such pictures as that of a standing Phaedra appealing, as it seems, directly to Hippolytus with the Nurse as an intermediary, and of a seated Phaedra with the Nurse gripping Hippolytus' elbow. There is also a painting in Rome of second-century date depicting Phaedra about to commit suicide.¹¹⁰

The story continued to attract artistry of a high order in the many sarcophagi with reliefs of Hippolytus and Phaedra.¹¹¹ The theme was popular until the fourth and possibly fifth centuries.¹¹² Both Seneca and

¹⁰⁹ For illustrations of the story on Greek vases see A. D. Trendall and T. B. L. Webster, *Illustrations of Greek drama* (London 1971) 88–9. The most interesting is an Apulian volute-krater of the third quarter of the fourth century (London BM F279) on which the bull rises from the sea as Hippolytus attempts to drive his chariot. As the old retainer wears appropriate stage costume, the illustration is of a drama.

¹¹⁰ The study by Croisille (1982) is of fundamental importance.

¹¹¹ Croisille (1982) 182–3, II pls. 32–42 and p. 82 and J. B. Ward Perkins, *J.R.S.* 46 (1956) 10–16 and pls. I–III.

¹¹² See P. Linant de Bellefonds, *Sarcophages attiques de la nécropole de Tyr* (Paris 1985) 125–83. P. Ghiron-Bistagne, *Dioniso, Atti dell'VIII congresso Seneca e il teatro* (1985) 261–306. See also J. M. C. Toynbee, *Latomus* 36 (1977) 386–7 and F. Zayadine, *Bull. Corr. Hell. Suppl.* 14 (1986) 423 and fig. 16.

Ovid will have been important in its wide dissemination in imperial times.

A tradition of performing Latin plays on the stage began in the circle of Pomponius Laetus (1427–97), professor of Latin in Rome, whose aim was to recreate historically correct conditions for the production of plays by the ancient dramatists. *Phaedra* was produced on the stage in 1490.¹¹³

In England in the sixteenth century Latin plays were staged as special events at school. *Phaedra* was performed at Westminster School probably at Christmas 1546 with a prologue specially composed by a master.¹¹⁴ The most enterprising practitioner of Latin plays was William Gager of Christ Church, who produced c. A.D. 1591 Seneca's *Hippolytus* with scenes added by the producer. The interpolation is a dramatically clumsy attempt to reinforce the portrayal of Hippolytus' purity, but had a personal value for Gager as he used it in 1591–2 to vindicate Hippolytus' essential virtue in face of attacks by the Puritan John Rainolds.¹¹⁵ The revival of Latin plays with new insertions was an important demonstration of classical culture as a living force.

Before producing *Phèdre* in 1677 Racine had already written two plays on Greek subjects, *Andromaque* and *Iphigénie*. In the preface to *Phèdre* he asserts that this play also is based on Euripides, but that he ensured that the character of the heroine should be more noble than in the ancient tragedies on the theme, so that the resolve to calumniate Hippolyte was spoken by the Nurse. He also states that the false accusation would be no more than Hippolyte's intention to violate his step-mother, not its fulfilment, and that whereas dramatists in antiquity had presented him as a character without flaw he gives him, as he judges, the moral weakness of having fallen in love with Aricie, the princess who was the close kin of Thésée's enemies. Racine, unlike Euripides and Seneca, refrains from making Hippolyte an active misogynist.

Though deeply versed in classical learning Racine dispensed with the atrophied convention of the chorus and in *Phèdre* produced a tragedy

¹¹³ Tschiedel in Lefèvre (1978) 89–90 and P. van Tieghem, *La littérature latine de la Renaissance* (Paris 1944) 147.

¹¹⁴ See T. W. Baldwin, *William Shakespeare's small Latine and lesse Greeke* (1944) 1177–8.

¹¹⁵ F. S. Boas, *University drama in the Tudor age* (Oxford 1914) 197–201, describes Gager's interpolations and, 230–48, the Puritan's antagonism.

notable for the originality of its invention, not least in Act I, where the questioning of Hippolyte by his confidant Thérémène concerning his behaviour seems to owe little to tradition.

Racine turns to Seneca for Phèdre's direct declaration to Hippolyte of her passion for Thésée as he had been, that is for Hippolyte himself, but introduces many telling variations including the rhetorical flourish that she would have been braver than Ariadne and would have led Thésée on his way into the labyrinth (II 5, 659–62). Phèdre's horrified feelings of guilt and vision of the retribution that awaits her in the Underworld from her father Minos may be an invention by Racine, but the phrasing owes much to parts of the Senecan corpus other than *Phaedra*.¹¹⁶ Thérémène's speech bringing tidings of Hippolyte's hideous death is based on the classical tradition, but is dignified as well as intense in its description of the monstrous beast from the sea, in which sound and sense coalesce in a way that belongs to great poetry.¹¹⁷

Racine's *Phèdre* must be seen as a whole from which no part may be abstracted without the danger of misrepresentation. The play is not rich in detachable maxims. Dominant imagery of light and darkness that represent truth and innocence opposed to guilt and error is part of the closely woven texture of dramatic speech and dialogue. The ethical and religious dimensions of *Phèdre* belong to France of the seventeenth century, but the Senecan literary tradition made a significant contribution to the creation of what is by general agreement one of the greatest masterpieces of poetic drama.¹¹⁸

The first play in the Senecan tradition in English, *Gorboduc* or *The Tragedy of Ferrex and Porrex* was written in blank verse by Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville, performed by gentlemen of the Inner Temple in 1561 and first printed in 1565. The tragedy contains fraternal strife and a revenge killing by a mother. One of the dumb shows that precedes each act to signify the moral of what follows displays three

¹¹⁶ Wanke in Lefèvre (1978) 214–5 refers to *Herc. Oct.* 1000–2 and *Med.* 958–60. See also T. B. L. Webster, 'The classical background to Racine's *Phèdre*', in T. E. Lawrenson et al., edd., *Modern miscellany* (Manchester 1969) 294–304.

¹¹⁷ See the subtle analysis by M. Turnell, *Jean Racine dramatist* (London 1971) 270–3.

¹¹⁸ On the central imagery of *Phèdre* see Turnell (n. 117) 241–2 and on the structure 243–4. His chapter on the play, 239–76, offers a very rewarding interpretation.

Furies from hell pursuing monarchs guilty of unnatural killing. Senecan influence is thus to be found in the subject and confirmed by the judgement of Sir Philip Sidney, in its 'stately speeches . . . climbing to the height of Seneca's style'. But the play lacks classical structure, as Sidney pointed out.¹¹⁹ Its undisciplined sprawl and a lack of significant dramatic dialogue make it little more than an important curiosity of literary history.

Another aspect of the tradition of Seneca had already come into existence with the free translation of his tragedies into the grandiloquent English septenarius. Jasper Heywood translated first *Troas* (i.e. *Troades*, 1559) followed by *Thyestes* (1560), the archetypal Latin revenge tragedy, and *Hercules Furens* (1561), the tragedy of the demented and suffering hero. John Studley contributed *Agamemnon*, *Medea* and *Hercules Oetaeus* to the series in 1566 and *Hippolytus* probably in the following year. Studley is sometimes compared unfavourably with the other Elizabethan translators.¹²⁰ The following quotations will illustrate the quality of his language:

Ph. A vapor hoate and Love do glow within my bedlem
brest:

It raging ranke no inwarde juyce undried leaves in rest:

The fier sonk in skalded guts through every vayne doth frie
And smothering close in seething bloudes flashing flame
doth flie. (640-3)

(Mess.) His breast and throtebag greenishly and dawbed
with clammy mosse,

His side along begrymed is with lactuse red of hue,

On snarling knots his wrinckled rumpe towards his face he
drue,

His scaly haunch and lagging tayle most ugly dragges hee
up. (1044-8)

The plays were at first printed separately and, together with the rest of the Senecan corpus, gathered into one publication in 1581 by Thomas Newton. Seneca's tragedies were thus readily available to all

¹¹⁹ 'A Defence of Poetry' in K. Duncan-Jones and J. Van Borsten, edd., *Miscellaneous prose of Sir Philip Sidney* (Oxford 1973) 113. On *Gorboduc* see Clemen 58-60.

¹²⁰ B. R. Rees, *G. & R.* 16 (1969) 119-33 esp. 127, who also discusses the translators' additions.

English playwrights and readers unable to have recourse to the learned language.¹²¹

A more important step in the development of the tradition of English tragedy was the play written by highly educated dramatists not for a learned coterie but for the popular stage. In such works the influence of Seneca, though present in some degree, is much more difficult to assess. *The Spanish Tragedy* by Thomas Kyd (1558–94) has many marks of a Senecan tragedy. There is some forceful declamation. The prologue is spoken by the ghost of a nobleman, Andrea, who died in battle, and by the personified figure of Revenge, an obvious component of a 'revenge tragedy'. But there are many important differences between Seneca and Kyd. Revenge is not a figure that torments Andrea, but the two serve as a chorus that appears in the last scene of each act and assesses the happenings. The multiple carnage in the *Spanish Tragedy* has no counterpart in any of Seneca's tragedies. Scholarly critics have pointed out that the play is concerned not so much with revenge as with justice, and also that Kyd was the first to create character by means of the soliloquy.¹²²

A declamatory power similar to that of the *Spanish Tragedy* is to be found in *Tamburlaine the Great*, a drama in two parts, the earliest work of Christopher Marlowe (1564–93), at one time the companion of Kyd. Marlowe was a graduate of Cambridge and, like Kyd, open to a wide range of literary influences. The ruthless tyrant intent on destroying all that thwarts his way to supreme power is a Senecan figure. Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* is such a brutal creation, 'Threatening the world with high astounding terms'.¹²³ But he differs from Seneca's tyrants in that he sought to win glory and to have beauty in his power. Seneca's verse is judged to have been one of the formative influences on the grandeur of the poetry of *Tamburlaine*.¹²⁴ But the immediacy of Seneca's influence is difficult to determine. As has been wisely said: 'The English playwright

¹²¹ Thomas Newton, *Seneca, His Tenne Tragedies* (repr. London 1927) with an introduction by T. S. Eliot = Eliot (1951) 65–105. This justly famous essay is too hasty in dismissing the translators' influence on Elizabethan and Jacobean drama (98–9); see G. K. Hunter in Costa (1974) 194–201 = Hunter 205–13.

¹²² On justice in Kyd see Hunter 216–29 and on his use of soliloquy Clemen 100–8. On Kyd see further Braden (1985) 200–15.

¹²³ *Tamburlaine* I prol. 4. See also speeches by *Tamburlaine* in Act II. vii and V.i.

¹²⁴ Clemen 25. On Marlowe's verse see also Eliot (1951) 118–25.

was under the influence of Seneca by being under the influence of his own predecessors.' ¹²⁵ Both Kyd and Marlowe were well-equipped scholars with a knowledge of Latin and various modern tongues. For the Elizabethan dramatists and their Jacobean successors experience of brutality needed no Roman literary prototype nor Italian model. It belonged to the callous and cruel times in which they lived. Kyd was tortured, and Marlowe, who had lived dangerously in the world of political intrigue, was stabbed to death in a tavern.

Seneca was for the most part a remote influence on Shakespeare. Shakespeare will have become acquainted with some Ovid at Stratford Grammar School but is unlikely to have read anything of Seneca except moral maxims taken from *florilegia*. ¹²⁶ If Shakespeare had direct knowledge of Seneca he will have acquired it as part of his adult experience. The very early play *Titus Andronicus*, a gruesome revenge tragedy, owes to Seneca's *Thyestes* the cannibalistic vengeance of Act V, but Marcus' speech on discovering his daughter ravished and mutilated derives its classical colouring from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. ¹²⁷ *Richard III*, the history of a ruthless tyrant, is often associated with the Senecan model. But Richard, though unprincipled, is far removed from Seneca's Atreus. On the night before his final battle Richard in sleep sees a pageant of the ghosts of his victims who wish him ill, but success to his opponents. This is far removed from Senecan procedure, as is Richard's soliloquy on wakening from the ghostly nightmare, which offers the thoughts of an un-Senecan despairing tyrant. But one formal indebtedness to Seneca has been noted, the line by line exchanges (*stichomythia*) between Richard and Queen Elizabeth, which are a much used convention of Latin drama. ¹²⁸ Polonius' remark to Hamlet, 'Seneca cannot be too heavy' refers to the Latin tragedian's place as exemplar of the high style

¹²⁵ Eliot (1951) 78.

¹²⁶ Baldwin (n. 114) concludes that Shakespeare is unlikely to have learnt anything from Seneca except *sententiae* and small pieces in such compilations for school use as O. Mirandula's *Illustrium poetarum flores*. See esp. II 409 and 560-1.

¹²⁷ *Tit. Andr.* V.ii and iii. Ovid's simile of the burst water pipe (*Met.* 4.122-4) is borrowed by Shakespeare II.iv, whose main source is the Tereus myth (*Met.* 6.424-674). See Hunter 165-6, who has a full discussion of *Titus Andronicus* at 319-34.

¹²⁸ *Rich. III* V.iii: ghosts and soliloquy. On the *stichomythia* of IV.iv 343-78 see e.g. F. L. Lucas, *Seneca and Elizabethan tragedy* (Cambridge 1922) 120. T. S. Eliot's essay 'Shakespeare and the Stoicism of Seneca' (in Eliot (1951) 126-40) is criticized by Hunter 288-290.

in dramatic literature, but the context is one of cheerful mockery of academic generic classification.¹²⁹

The extent of the impact of Seneca on Jacobean dramatists such as Webster and Chapman is problematical, as it is increasingly difficult to separate the immediate debt to Seneca from remoter influences derived from the complex legacy of earlier Renaissance drama. Scholars have noted the recurrence of the overweening Senecan tyrant in Chapman's *Byron*, the continuation of the tradition of tragedies of atrocious revenge in the action of Webster's *White Devil*, and also another aspect of Senecan influence, the character who is the ideal Stoic figure, the hero whose actions are controlled by inner wisdom and powers of endurance. Such honourable persons as Clermont in Chapman's *The Revenge of Bussy d' Ambois* are said to owe something to Seneca's Thyestes who resigned power, to Hercules the all-enduring, and to Hippolytus the ascetic who fled from the taints of immorality.¹³⁰

After the work of the Jacobean tragedians creative interest in Seneca's tragedies and with it the Hippolytus myth as seen through Roman eyes waned rapidly in Britain almost to the point of extinction in the centuries down to modern times.¹³¹ But there has been one significant but regrettably fragmentary exception. A. C. Swinburne (1837–1909) wrote poetry of a fierce sensuality of which a notable characteristic is pleasure in inflicting and receiving pain.¹³² The dramatic fragment *Phaedra* published in *Poems and Ballads* (1866) consists of four speeches broken by short comments by the Chorus and by Hippolytus. Phaedra, passionately eager for death and 'sick with hating the sweet sun', bids Hippolytus drive his sword deep into her body, makes an avowal of incestuous desire ('I ache towards thee with a bridal blood'), and, exhorting the Chorus with an uninhibited directness that brings Seneca to mind ('I take you to witness what I am'), describes the hideous misfortune of her Cretan mother ('marriage-fodder snuffed about of kine'), and curses Theseus the bringer of disaster to Crete.

¹²⁹ See C.D.N. Costa, *P.C.P.S.* 21 (1975) 33–41.

¹³⁰ Una Ellis Fermor, *The Jacobean drama* (London 1953³) and Charlotte Spivack, *George Chapman* (New York 1967) 109–33 discuss the Senecan hero in Jacobean tragedy.

¹³¹ On the influence of Seneca on English drama see R. Borgmeier in Lefèvre (1978) 276–323.

¹³² Georges Lafourcade, *Swinburne. A literary biography* (London 1932), is a valuable source of information on Swinburne's life and works.

It is unfortunate that Swinburne did not amplify his perfervid fragment of *Phaedra*, in which the forceful confrontation between Phaedra and Hippolytus would seem to owe more to Seneca's *Phaedra* than to the more restrained handling of the story in Greek tragedy.¹³³

In addition to having an important place in the European literary tradition, the story of Hippolytus has received a wide variety of interpretations in the works of some important composers of opera or of other pieces for the theatre. One of the earliest and perhaps the best is the first opera by Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683–1764) *Hippolyte et Aricie* (1733), a *tragédie lyrique* set to a text by the Abbé Pellegrin, an experienced writer of libretti. As the title suggests, the scope of the work is very different from that of Racine's *Phèdre*. *Phèdre* is of less importance than the young lovers Hippolyte and Aricie. Most of the drama takes place in Trozen, but Act II is devoted to Theseus in the Underworld and the later scenes of Act V are set in the forests of Aricia in Italy where Hippolyte is brought back to life.¹³⁴ The lovers are reunited and the opera ends in sylvan festivity with dance and chorus. The limitations of the plot can be overlooked by the listener, who is rewarded by music that is both powerful and elegant.¹³⁵

Jules Massenet (1842–1912) wrote incidental music for Racine's *Phèdre*. The overture was written in 1873 and the other five pieces in 1900. The somewhat brash overture and the idyllic *Hippolyte et Aricie* movement are perhaps the best components of a suite that is very agreeable but lacking the distinction of his operatic writing. Arthur Honegger's incidental music to D'Annunzio's *Fedra* (1926), though not widely known, has been available on a recording of Russian origin, but the Jean Cocteau–Georges Auric ballet of 1950 seems to have been forgotten. The solo dramatic cantata *Phaedra* by Benjamin Britten (1913–76) op. 93, written in 1975 and performed in the following year, uses the translation by Robert Lowell of Racine's *Phèdre*. In the Pro-

¹³³ In contrast to Lafoureaud's excess of enthusiasm for Swinburne's dramatic poetry (n. 132) R. Jenkyns, *The Victorians and ancient Greece* (Oxford 1980) 107, who views his *Phaedra* in relation to the Greek tradition only, rejects it too drastically.

¹³⁴ The story of the restoration of Hippolytus to life in Italy is found in Virgil, *Aen.* 7.761–77, and in Ovid, *Met.* 15.541–6, *Fast.* 6. 733–56. See Fordyce on *Aen.* 7.761ff.

¹³⁵ Note for example the famous trio of the Fates (Act II scene 5).

logue and first recitative Phaedra narrates the growth of her passion. Then follows her angry declaration of passion to Hippolytus, succeeded by recitative to Oenone in which she desires death, and finally her dying speech to Theseus. The music, which is lightly scored, is lean and taut and is one of Britten's last compositions. The old myth still inspires fine artistry in the later part of the twentieth century.

11. METRE AND PROSODY

Early Roman drama imitated its Greek models with considerable freedom. The metres used in dialogue show this most clearly. For the Latin *senarius*, though it is iambic in rhythm and has as many feet as the Greek trimeter, admitted a high degree of metrical and prosodical licence compared to the classical patterns. Moreover the elaborate choral songs of Attic tragedy, composed in strophes for dancing, would have found no place on the Roman stage; our fragmentary remains of republican Latin tragedies hardly permit us to say with certainty what their choral songs were like.¹³⁶

Seneca's tragedies, however, are formally more like their Athenian models, and so it is assumed that perhaps in the late republic Latin tragedians assimilated their dialogue metre more closely to the Greek iambic trimeter and so abandoned the *senarius*.¹³⁷ (Their choral metres on the other hand must remain obscure.) Though the Senecan trimeter is not an exact imitation of the Greek it is in most respects its image, chiefly in its preservation of an iambus (∪ —) in the second, fourth and sixth feet. The full scheme of the trimeter, with permitted resolutions, chiefly in the odd-numbered feet, is as follows:

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} \cup & 1 & & \cup & 2 & & \cup & 3 & & \cup & 4 & & \cup & 5 & & \cup & 6 \\ \hline \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup \\ \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup & \cup \end{array}$$

It should be noted that the fifth foot, unlike the first or third, is almost never an iambus, hence no single short mark appears above the long mark. As usual the final syllable of the line is called *anceps* and may be

¹³⁶ For the metrical forms of early drama see H. D. Jocelyn, *The tragedies of Ennius* (Cambridge 1969) 29–38; for the chorus see *ibid.* 19–20.

¹³⁷ Tarrant (1978) 258.

either long or short (marked x). The standard work on the topic is by L. Strzelecki, *De Senecae trimetro iambico quaestiones selectae* (Kracow 1938).

The middle section of the line always has a caesura, i.e., a word ends within the foot. The caesura commonly falls after the first element of either the third or the fourth foot. In scansion, caesurae are marked thus: ||.

At *Phaed.* 1201–12, as in *Med.* 740–51 and *Oed.* 223–32, Seneca also employs the trochaic tetrameter catalectic. The trochee (–○) would be repeated, with the same resolutions as in the iambic lines, eight times, but the eighth foot lacks its last element (catalectic derives from the Greek *katalektikos* ‘with incomplete last foot’). Hence the line is seven and a half feet long. The metre imparts special solemnity to the utterance.

The relation of Seneca’s lyrics to earlier Latin tragedies must remain largely unknown. His choral odes and monodies founded on the anapaest (○○–) certainly had precedents in republican and Augustan tragedy. But his other lyrics, in asclepiads or sapphics for instance, point rather to Horace; rarely, however, does Seneca follow Horace in the use of stanzas, for he prefers to compose each line of a section or ode in a single verse measure, i.e., in stichic lyric.

The anapaestic rhythm is much favoured by Seneca. In *Phaedra* the opening monologue of Hippolytus uses it; so too 325–57, 959–88, 1123–7, 1132–48. The anapaest was not used as a single foot but always composed in metra, i.e., the unit of measurement was two anapaests, thus: ○○–○○–. A word had to end with the metron; elision and hiatus were not permitted at this point. Seneca favoured dimeters, i.e., two anapaestic metra (= four anapaests), as usual, with certain resolutions. The scheme may be presented thus:

○○○○ ○○ ○○ | ○○○○ ○○ x

Monometers, i.e., one anapaestic metron (= two anapaests), are also found.

The other lyric metres follow the Horatian model, apart from stanzaic structure.

i 274–324, 736–52, 1149–53: sapphic hendecasyllable
 –○– ⁴ ⁵ | ○○–○–x

A word must end after the fifth syllable. The fourth syllable is

resolved into two shorts at 286, 288 (see Costa on *Med.* 636); most examples of the licence incorporate proper names.

To the sapphic a clausula, called the adonius ($-\cup\cup - \times$), is attached at 740 and 752.

- ii 753–60, 764–82, 785–823, 1128–9: minor asclepiad
 $---\cup\cup\overset{6}{-}|\cup\cup-\cup\times$

A word must end after the sixth syllable. The measure is a common element in Horace's composite lyrics.

- iii Two related measures are found at

(a) 783, 1130 glyconic $---\cup\cup-\cup\times$

(b) 784, 1131 aristophanean $-\cup\cup-\cup-\times$

The glyconic appears frequently in the composite lyric systems of Horace; he uses the aristophanean in *C.*1.8 (*Lydia dic per omnes*).

- iv 761–3 dactylic tetrameter $-\cup\cup -\cup\cup -\cup\cup -\cup\times$

This measure forms the first part of the so-called archilochean (=dactylic tetrameter and ithyphallic); it is found in Horace, *C.*1.4 (*soluitur acris hiems grata uice ...*).

Noteworthy prosodical features

- i Elision of monosyllables: 89, 439, 734, 992, 1059; of *si*: 121, 1121 (Zwierlein (1983) 209–10).
- ii Synizesis, i.e., two syllables coalesce to form one (they 'sit down together' in one metrical *sedes*): 148 *Thesēa*, 261 *prōin*.
- iii Lengthening of a short final syllable before double consonant: 1026 *undiquē scopuli* (Leo, *Obs.* 203 n. 4).
- iv Shortening of final *o* to form
- (a) tribrach: 184 *ratio*, 219 *metuo*
- (b) trochee: 880 *uiuo*, 898 *cerno*, 1082 *uero*.

SIGLA

The abbreviations which indicate the MSS on which the text is founded have been given in the Introduction pp. 30-1. To these the following should be added:

ω = the consensus of E and A

β = the consensus of C, S and V

recc. = some later MSS not individually cited by editors

In the text a dot beside a line means that it should be taken numerically with the preceding line. In the Commentary the sign < means 'derived from'.

L. ANNAEI SENECAE PHAEDRA

PERSONAE

HIPPOLYTUS

PHAEDRA

NUTRIX

THESEUS

NUNTIVS

CHORVS

Scaena Athenis

HIPPOLYTUS

Ite, umbrosas cingite siluas
 summaque montis iuga Cecropii!
 celeri planta lustrate uagi
 quae saxoso loca Parnetho
 subiecta iacent, .
 quae Thriasiis uallibus amnis 5
 rapida currens uerberat unda;
 scandite colles semper canos
 niue Rhiphaea.
 Hac, hac alii qua nemus alta
 textitur alno, qua prata iacent 10
 quae rorifera mulcens aura
 Zephyrus uernas euocat herbas,
 ubi per graciles leuis Ilisos
 labitur agros piger et steriles
 amne maligno radit harenas. 15
 Vos qua Marathon tramite laeue
 saltus aperit,
 qua comitatae gregibus paruis
 nocturna petunt pabula fetae;
 uos qua tepidis subditus austris 20
 frigora mollit durus Acharneus.
 Alius rupem dulcis Hymetti,
 paruas alius calcet Aphidnas;
 pars illa diu uacat immunis,
 qua curuati litora ponti 25
 Sunion urget.

10 iacent *or*: patent *Zwierlein*

si quem tangit gloria siluae,
 uocat hunc Phyle:
hic uersatur, metus agricolis,
uulnere multo iam notus aper. 30

At uos laxas canibus tacitis
 mittite habenas;
teneant acres lora Molossos
et pugnaces tendant Cretes
fortia trito uincula collo.
at Spartanos (genus est audax 35
auidumque ferae) nodo cautus
 propiore liga:
ueniet tempus, cum latratu
 caua saxa sonent.
nunc demissi nare sagaci
captent auras lustraue presso 40
quaerant rostro, dum lux dubia est,
dum signa pedum roscida tellus
 impressa tenet.

Alius raras ceruice graui
 portare plagas,
alius teretes properet laqueos. 45
picta rubenti linea pinna
uano cludat terrore feras.
Tibi libretur missile telum,
tu graue dextra laeuaue simul
robur lato derige ferro; 50
tu praecipites clamore feras
 subsessor ages;
tu iam uictor curuo solues
 uiscera cultro.

Ades en comiti, diua uirago,
cuius regno pars terrarum 55
 secreta uacat,
cuius certis petitur telis

fera quae gelidum potat Araxen
et quae stanti ludit in Histro.

tua Gaetulos dextra leones, 60
tua Cretaeas sequitur ceruas;
nunc ueloces figis dammas
leuiore manu. .

tibi dant uariae pectora tigres,
tibi uillosi terga bisontes
latisque feri cornibus uri. 65

quidquid solis pascitur aruis,
siue illud Arabs diuite silua,
siue illud inops nouit Garamans
uacuisque uagus Sarmata campis, 71
siue ferocis iuga Pyrenes 69
siue Hyrcani celant saltus, 70
arcus metuit, Diana, tuos. 72

Tua si gratus numina cultor
tulit in saltus,
retia uinctas tenuere feras, 75
nulli laqueum rupere pedes:
fertur plaustro praeda gementi.
tum rostra canes sanguine multo
rubicunda gerunt, .
repetitque casas rustica longo
turba triumpho. 80

En, diua fauet: signum arguti
misere canes: uocor in siluas.
hac, hac pergam qua uia longum
compensat iter.

PHAEDRA

O magna uasti Creta dominatrix freti, 85
cuius per omne litus innumerae rates

tenuere pontum, quidquid Assyria tenus
 tellure Nereus peruium rostris sinit,
 cur me in penates obsidem inuisos datam
 hostique nuptam degere aetatem in malis 90
 lacrimisque cogis? profugus en coniunx abest
 praestatque nuptae quam solet Theseus fidem.
 fortis per altas inuii retro lacus
 uadit tenebras miles audacis proci,
 solio ut reuulsam regis inferni abstrahat; 95
 pergit furoris socius, haud illum timor
 pudorue tenuit: stupra et illicitos toros
 Acheronte in imo quaerit Hippolyti pater.

Sed maior alius incubat maestae dolor.
 non me quies nocturna, non altus sopor 100
 soluere curis: alitur et crescit malum
 et ardet intus qualis Aetnaeo uapor
 exundat antro. Palladis telae uacant
 et inter ipsas pensa labuntur manus;
 non colere donis templa uotiuus libet, 105
 non inter aras, Atthidum mixtam choris,
 iactare tacitis conscias sacris faces,
 nec adire castis precibus aut ritu pio
 adiudicatae praesidem terrae deam:
 iuuat excitatas consequi cursu feras 110
 et rigida molli gaesa iaculari manu.

Quo tendis, anime? quid furens saltus amas?
 fatale miserae matris agnosco malum:
 peccare noster nouit in siluis amor.
 genetrix, tui me miseret? infando malo 115
 correpta pecoris efferum saeui ducem
 audax amasti; toruus, impatiens iugi
 adulter ille, ductor indomiti gregis,
 sed amabat aliquid. quis meas miserae deus

aut quis iuuare Daedalus flammās queat? 120
 non si ille remeet, arte Mopsopia potens,
 qui nostra caeca monstra conclusit domo,
 promittet ullam casibus nostris opem.
 stirpem perosa Solis inuisi Venus
 per nos catenas uindicat Martis sui 125
 suasque, probris omne Phoebeum genus
 onerat nefandis: nulla Minois leui
 defuncta amore est, iungitur semper nefas.

NVTRIX

Thesea coniunx, clara progenies Iouis,
 nefanda casto pectore exturba ocus, 130
 extingue flammās neue te dirae spei
 praebe obsequentem: quisquis in primo obstitit
 pepulitque amorem, tutus ac uictor fuit;
 qui blandiendo dulce nutriuit malum,
 sero recusat ferre quod subiit iugum. 135
 nec me fugit, quam durus et ueri insolens
 ad recta flecti regius nolit tumor.
 quemcumque dederit exitum casus feram:
 fortem facit uicina libertas senem.

Honesta primum est uelle nec labi uia, 140
 pudor est secundus nosse peccandi modum.
 quo, misera, pergis? quid domum infamem aggrauas
 superasque matrem? maius est monstro nefas:
 nam monstra fato, moribus scelera imputes.
 Si, quod maritus supera non cernit loca, 145
 tutum esse facinus credis et uacuum metu,
 erras; teneri crede Lethaeo abditum
 Thesea profundo et ferre perpetuam Styga:
 quid ille, lato maria qui regno premit
 populisque reddit iura centenis, pater? 150
 latere tantum facinus occultum sinet?

sagax parentum est cura. Credamus tamen
 astu doloque tegere nos tantum nefas:
 quid ille rebus lumen infundens suum,
 matris parens? quid ille, qui mundum quatit 155
 uibrans corusca fulmen Aetnaeum manu,
 sator deorum? credis hoc posse effici,
 inter uidentes omnia ut lateas auos?

Sed ut secundus numinum abscondat fauor
 coitus nefandos utque contingat stupro 160
 negata magnis sceleribus semper fides:
 quid poena praesens, conscius mentis pauor
 animusque culpa plenus et semet timens?
 scelus aliqua tutum, nulla securum tulit.

Compesce amoris impii flammās, precor, 165
 nefasque quod non ulla tellus barbara
 commisit umquam, non uagi campis Getae
 nec inhospitalis Taurus aut sparsus Scythes;
 expelle facinus mente castifica horridum
 memorque matris metue concubitus nouos. 170

miscere thalamos patris et gnati apparas
 uteroque prolem capere confusam impio?
 perge et nefandis uerte naturam ignibus.
 cur monstra cessant? aula cur fratris uacat?
 prodigia totiens orbis insueta audiet, 175
 natura totiens legibus cedit suis,

quotiens amabit Cressa? PH. Quae memoras scio
 uera esse, nutrix; sed furor cogit sequi
 peiora. uadit animus in praeceps sciens
 remeatque frustra sana consilia appetens. 180

sic, cum grauata nauita aduersa ratem
 propellit unda, cedit in uanum labor
 et uicta prono puppis aufertur uado.
 quid ratio possit? uicit ac regnat furor,
 potensque tota mente dominatur deus. 185
 hic uolucer omni pollet in terra impotens

ipsumque flammis torret indomitis Iouem;
 Graduius istas belliger sensit faces,
 opifex trisulci fulminis sensit deus,
 et qui furentis semper Aetnaeis iugis 190
 uersat caminos igne tam paruo calet;
 ipsumque Phoebum, tela qui neruo regit,
 figit sagitta certior missa puer
 uolitatque caelo pariter et terris grauīs.
 NVT. Deum esse amorem turpis et uitio fauens 195
 finxit libido, quoque liberior foret
 titulum furori numinis falsi addidit.
 natum per omnis scilicet terras uagum
 Erycina mittit, ille per caelum uolans
 proterua tenera tela molitur manu 200
 regnumque tantum minimus e superis habet:
 uana ista demens animus asciuit sibi
 Venerisque numen finxit atque arcus dei.
 Quisquis secundis rebus exultat nimis
 fluitque luxu, semper insolita appetit. 205
 tunc illa magnae dira fortunae comes
 subit libido: non placent suetae dapes,
 non texta sani moris aut uilis scyphus.
 cur in penates rarius tenues subit
 haec delicatas eligens pestis domos? 210
 cur sancta paruis habitat in tectis Venus
 mediumque sanos uulgus affectus tenet
 et se coercent modica, contra diuites
 regnoque fulti plura quam fas est petunt?
 quod non potest uult posse qui nimium potest. 215
 quid deceat alto praeditam solio uide:
 metue ac uerere sceptrā remeantis uiri.
 PH. Amoris in me maximum regnum reor

208 texta *Cornelissen*: tecta ω scyphus *Jac. Gronouius*: cibus ω
 218 reor *Zwierlein*: fero *A*: puto *E*

reditusque nullos metuo: non umquam amplius
 conuexa tetigit supera qui mersus semel 220
 adiit silentem nocte perpetua domum.
 NVT. Ne crede Diti. clausurit regnum licet,
 canisque diras Stygius obseruet fores:
 solus negatas inuenit Theseus uias.
 PH. Veniam ille amoris forsitan nostro dabit. 225
 NVT. Immitis etiam coniugi castae fuit:
 experta saeuam est barbara Antiope manum.
 sed posse flecti coniugem iratum puta:
 quis huius animum flectet intractabilem?
 exosus omne feminae nomen fugit, 230
 immitis annos caelibis uitae dicat,
 conubia uitat: genus Amazonium scias.
 PH. Hunc in niuosi collis haerentem iugis,
 et aspera agili saxa calcantem pede
 sequi per alta nemora, per montes placet. 235
 NVT. Resistet ille seque mulcendum dabit
 castosque ritus Venere non casta exuet?
 tibi ponet odium, cuius odio forsitan
 persequitur omnes? PH. Precibus at uinci potest?
 NVT. Ferus est. PH. Amore didicimus uinci feros. 240
 NVT. Fugiet. PH. Per ipsa maria si fugiat, sequar.
 NVT. Patris memento. PH. Meminimus matris simul.
 NVT. Genus omne profugit. PH. Paelicis careo metu.
 NVT. Aderit maritus. PH. Nempe Pirithoi comes?
 NVT. Aderitque genitor. PH. Mitis Ariadnae pater. 245
 NVT. Per has senecta splendidae simplex comas
 fessumque curis pectus et cara ubera
 precor, furorem siste teque ipsa adiuua:
 pars sanitatis uelle sanari fuit.
 PH. Non omnis animo cessit ingenuo pudor. 250
 paremus, altrix. qui regi non uult amor,

239 at *Heinsius, Fuchs*: aut *A*: haud *E*246 senecta *Kenney*: -ae ω

uincatur. haud te, fama, maculari sinam.
 haec sola ratio est, unicum effugium mali:
 uirum sequamur, morte praeuertam nefas.
 NVT. Moderare, alumna, mentis effrenae impetus, 255
 animos coerce. dignam ob hoc uita reor
 quod esse temet autumas dignam nece.
 PH. Decreta mors est: quaeritur fati genus.
 laqueone uitam finiam an ferro incubem?
 an missa praeceps arce Palladia cadam? 260
 NVT. Sic te senectus nostra praecipiti sinat 262
 perire leto? siste furibundum impetum.
 [haud quisquam ad uitam facile reuocari potest]
 PH. Prohibere nulla ratio periturum potest, 265
 ubi qui mori constituit et debet mori.
 proin castitatis uindicem armemus manum. 261
 NVT. Solamen annis unicum fessis, era, 267
 si tam proteruus incubat menti furor,
 contemne famam: fama uix uero fauet,
 peius merenti melior et peior bono. 270
 temptemus animum tristem et intractabilem.
 meus iste labor est aggredi iuuenem ferum
 mentemque saeuam flectere immitis uiri.

CHORVS

Diua non miti generata ponto,
 quam uocat matrem geminus Cupido: 275
 impotens flammis simul et sagittis
 iste lasciuus puer et renidens
 tela quam certo moderatur arcu!
 [labitur totas furor in medullas
 igne furtiuo populante uenas.] 280

261 *post 266 transposuit Gronouius* 264 *omisit A, deleuit Scaliger*
 279, 280 *omisit A*

non habet latam data plaga frontem,
 sed uorat tectas penitus medullas.
 nulla pax isti puero: per orbem
 spargit effusas agilis sagittas;
 quaeque nascentem uidet ora solem, 285
 quaeque ad Hesperias iacet ora metas,
 si qua feruenti subiecta cancro est,
 si qua Parrhasiae glacialis ursae
 semper errantes patitur colonos,
 nouit hos aestus: iuuenum feroces 290
 concitat flammās senibusque fessis
 rursus extinctos reuocat calores,
 uirginum ignoto ferit igne pectus —
 et iubet caelo superos relicto
 uultibus falsis habitare terras. 295

Thessali Phoebus pecoris magister
 egit armentum positoque plectro
 impari tauros calamo uocauit.
 Induit formas quotiens minores
 ipse qui caelum nebulasque ducit! 300
 candidas ales modo mouit alas,
 dulcior uocem moriente cycno;
 fronte nunc torua petulans iuuenus
 uirginum strauit sua terga ludo,
 perque fraternos, noua regna, fluctus 305
 ungula lentos imitante remos
 pectore aduerso domuit profundum,
 pro sua uector timidus rapina.
 Arsit obscuri dea clara mundi
 nocte deserta nitidosque fratri 310
 tradidit currus aliter regendos:
 ille nocturnas agitare bigas
 discit et gyro breuiore flecti,

nec suum tempus tenuere noctes
 et dies tardo remeavit ortu, 315
 dum tremunt axes grauiore curru.

Natus Alcmena posuit pharetras
 et minax uasti spolium leonis,
 passus aptari digitis smaragdos
 et dari legem rudibus capillis; 320
 crura distincto religauit auro,
 luteo plantas cohibente socco;
 et manu, clauam modo qua gerebat,
 fila deduxit properante fuso. 324

Vidit Persis ditisque ferax 325
 Lydia harenae
 deiecta feri terga leonis
 umerisque, quibus sederat alti
 regia caeli,
 tenuem Tyrio stamine pallam.

Sacer est ignis (credite laesis) 330
 nimiumque potens:
 qua terra salo cingitur alto
 quaque per ipsum candida mundum
 sidera currunt,
 hac regna tenet puer immitis,
 spicula cuius sentit in imis 335
 caerulus undis grex Nereidum
 flammamque nequit releuare mari.

Ignes sentit genus aligerum;
 Venere instinctus suscipit audax
 grege pro toto bella iuuencus; 340
 si coniugio timuere suo,
 poscunt timidi proelia cerui
 et mugitu dant concepti

325 ditisque *recc.*: ditique *E* 326 harenae (-na *Zwierlein*) *Grotius*: regno *E*:
 -ni β

signa furoris;
 tunc uirgatas India tigres 345
 decolor horret;
 tunc uulnificos acuit dentes
 aper et toto est spumeus ore;
 Poeni quatiunt colla leones,
 cum mouit amor;
 tunc silua gemit murmure saeuo. 350
 amat insani belua ponti
 Lucaeque boues: uindicat omnes
 natura sibi, nihil immune est,
 odiumque perit, cum iussit amor;
 ueteres cedunt ignibus irae. 355
 quid plura canam? uincit saeuas
 cura nouercas.

Altrix, profare quid feras; quonam in loco est
 regina? saeuus ecquis est flammis modus?

NVTRIX

Spes nulla tantum posse leniri malum, 360
 finisque flammis nullus insanis erit.
 torretur aestu tacito et inclusus quoque,
 quamuis tegatur, proditur uultu furor;
 erumpit oculis ignis et lassae genae
 lucem recusant; nil idem dubiae placet, 365
 artusque uarie iactat incertus dolor:
 nunc ut soluto labitur moriens gradu
 et uix labante sustinet collo caput,
 nunc se quieti reddit et, somni immemor,
 noctem querelis ducit; attolli iubet 370
 iterumque poni corpus et solui comas
 rursusque fingi: semper impatiens sui
 mutatur habitus. nulla iam Cereris subit
 cura aut salutis; uadit incerto pede,

iam uiribus defecta: non idem uigor, 375
 non ora tinguens nitida purpureus rubor;
 [populatur artus cura, iam gressus tremunt,
 tenerque nitidi corporis cecidit decor.]
 et qui ferebant signa Phoebeae facis
 oculi nihil gentile nec patrium micant. 380
 lacrimae cadunt per ora et assiduo genae
 rore irrigantur, qualiter Tauri iugis
 tepido madescunt imbre percussae niues.

Sed en, patescunt regiae fastigia:
 reclinis ipsa sedis auratae toro 385
 solitos amictus mente non sana abnuat.

PHAEDRA

Remouete, famulae, purpura atque auro inlitas
 uestes, procul sit muricis Tyrii rubor,
 quae fila ramis ultimi Seres legunt:
 breuis expeditos zona constringat sinus, 390
 ceruix monili uacua, nec niueus lapis
 deducat auris, Indici donum maris;
 odore crinis sparsus Assyrio uacet.
 sic temere iactae colla perfundant comae
 umerosque summos, cursibus motae citis 395
 uentos sequantur. laeua se pharetrae dabit,
 hastile uibret dextra Thessalicum manus:
 [talis seueri mater Hippolyti fuit.]
 qualis relictis frigidi Ponti plagis
 egit cateruas Atticum pulsans solum 400
 Tanaitis aut Maeotis et nodo comas
 coegit emisitque, lunata latus
 protecta pelta, talis in siluas ferar.
 NVT. Sepone questus: non leuat miseros dolor;
 agreste placa uirginis numen deae. 405

PH. Regina nemorum, sola quae montes colis
 et una solis montibus coleris dea,
 conuerte tristes ominum in melius minas.
 o magna siluas inter et lucos dea,
 clarumque caeli sidus et noctis decus, 410
 cuius relucet mundus alterna face,
 Hecate triformis, en ades coeptis fauens.
 animum rigentem tristis Hippolyti doma:
 det facilis aures; mitiga pectus ferum:
 amare discat, mutuos ignes ferat. 415
 inflecte mentem: toruus auersus ferox
 in iura Veneris redeat. huc uires tuas
 intende: sic te lucidi uultus ferant
 et nube rupta cornibus puris eas,
 sic te regentem frena nocturni aetheris 420
 detrahare numquam Thessali cantus queant
 nullusque de te gloriam pastor fêrat.
 Ades inuocata. iam fauet uotis dea:
 ipsum intuor sollemne uenerantem sacrum
 nullo latus comitante — quid dubitas? dedit 425
 tempus locumque casus: utendum artibus.
 NVT. Trepidamus? haud est facile mandatum scelus
 audere, uerum iusta qui reges timet
 deponat, omne pellat ex animo decus:
 malus est minister regii imperii pudor. 430

HIPPOLYTUS

Quid huc seniles fessa moliris gradus,
 o fida nutrix, turbidam frontem gerens
 et maesta uultu? sospes est certe parens

ante 406 nouae scaenae personae inscriptae: nutrix ypolitus, uel similia; 406–26
Phaedrae dant Friedrich, Vretska 411 face A: uice E 416 inflecte Ascensius^{u.l.}:
innecte ω 423 fauet A: -e E: -es recc.

sospesque Phaedra stirpis et geminae iugum?
NVT. Metus remitte, prospero regnum in statu est 435
domusque florens sorte felici uiget.
sed tu beatis mitior rebus ueni:
namque anxiam me cura sollicitat tui,
quod te ipse poenis grauibus infestus domas.
quem fata cogunt, ille cum uenia est miser; 440
at si quis ultro se malis offert uolens
seque ipse torquet, perdere est dignus bona
quis nescit uti. potius annorum memor
mentem relaxa: noctibus festis facem
attolle, curas Bacchus exoneret graues; 445
aetate fruire: mobili cursu fugit.
nunc facile pectus, grata nunc iuueni Venus:
exultet animus. cur toro uiduo iaces?
tristem iuuentam solue; nunc cursus rape,
effunde habenas, optimos uitae dies 450
effluere prohibe. propria descripsit deus
officia et aeuum per suos ducit gradus:
laetitia iuuenem, frons decet tristis senem.
Quid te coerces et necas rectam indolem?
seges illa magnum fenus agricolae dabit 455
quaecumque laetis tenera luxuriat satis,
arborque celso uertice euincet nemus
quam non maligna caedit aut resecat manus:
ingenia melius recta se in laudes ferunt,
si nobilem animum uegeta libertas alit. 460
truculentus et siluester ac uitae inscius
tristem iuuentam Venere deserta coles?
hoc esse munus credis indictum uiris,
ut dura tolerant, cursibus domitent equos
et saeua bella Marte sanguineo gerant? 465
Prouidit ille maximus mundi parens,
cum tam rapaces cerneret Fati manus,
ut damna semper subole repararet noua.

excedat agedum rebus humanis Venus,
 quae supplet ac restituit exhaustum genus: 470
 orbis iacebit squalido turpis situ,
 uacuum sine ullis piscibus stabit mare,
 alesque caelo derit et siluis fera,
 solis et aer peruius uentis erit.
 quam uaria leti genera mortalem trahunt 475
 carpuntque turbam, pontus et ferrum et doli!
 sed fata credas desse: sic atram Styga
 iam petimus ultro. caelibem uitam probet
 sterilis iuuentus: hoc erit, quidquid uides,
 unius aeui turba et in semet ruet. 480
 proinde uitae sequere naturam ducem:
 urbem frequenta, ciuium coetus cole.
 HI. Non alia magis est libera et uitio carens
 ritusque melius uita quae priscos colat,
 quam quae relictis moenibus siluas amat. 485
 non illum auarae mentis inflamat furor
 qui se dicauit montium insontem iugis,
 non aura populi et uulgus infidum bonis,
 non pestilens inuidia, non fragilis fauor;
 non ille regno seruit aut regno imminens 490
 uanos honores sequitur aut fluxas opes,
 spei metusque liber, haud illum niger
 edaxque liuor dente degeneri petit;
 nec scelera populos inter atque urbes sata
 nouit nec omnes conscius strepitus pauet 495
 aut uerba fingit; mille non quaerit tegi
 diues columnis nec trabes multo insolens
 suffigit auro; non cruor largus pias
 inundat aras, fruge nec sparsi sacra
 centena niuei colla summittunt boues: 500
 sed rure uacuo potitur et aperto aethere

472 piscibus *Bentley*: classibus ω 494 sata *Heinsius*: sita ω

innocuus errat. callidas tantum feris
 struxisse fraudes nouit et fessus graui
 labore niueo corpus Iliso fouet;
 nunc ille ripam celeris Alphei legit, 505
 nunc nemoris alti densa metatur loca,
 ubi Lerna puro gelida perlucet uado
 solesque uitat. hinc aues querulae fremunt
 ramique uentis lene percussi tremunt

* * * * *

ueteresque fagi. iuuat <et> aut amnis uagi 510
 pressisse ripas, caespite aut nudo leues
 duxisse somnos, siue fons largus citas
 defundit undas, siue per flores novos
 fugiente dulcis murmurat riuo sonus.
 excussa siluis poma compescunt famem 515
 et fraga paruis uulsa dumetis cibos
 faciles ministrant. regios luxus procul
 est impetus fugisse: sollicito bibunt
 auro superbi; quam iuuat nuda manu
 captasse fontem! certior somnus premit 520
 segura duro membra uersantem toro.
 non in recessu furta et obscuro improbus
 quaerit cubili seque multiplici timens
 domo recondit: aethera ac lucem petit
 et teste caelo uiuit. Hoc equidem reor 525
 uixisse ritu prima quos mixtos deis
 profudit aetas. nullus his auri fuit
 caecus cupido, nullus in campo sacer
 diuisit agros arbiter populis lapis;
 nondum secabant credulae pontum rates: 530

507 comma post uado sustulit Kenney 508 solesque uitat Axelson: sedes (-em A)
 que mutat ω fremunt (ω) suspectum: canunt Kenney gemunt uel ob-
 strepunt Mayer post 509 lacunam indicauit Peiper 510 et addidit Peiper
 521 uersantem E: -ur A: laxantem uel soluentem Axelson, releuantem Kenney,
 Axelson

sua quisque norat maria; non uasto aggere
 crebraque turre cinxerant urbes latus;
 non arma saeua miles aptabat manu
 nec torta clausas fregerat saxo graui
 ballista portas, iussa nec dominum pati 535
 iuncto ferebat terra seruitium boue:
 sed arua per se feta poscentes nihil
 pauere gentes, silua natiuas opes
 et opaca dederant antra natiuas domos.

Rupere foedus impius lucri furor 540
 et ira praeceps quaeque succensas agit
 libido mentes; uenit imperii sitis
 cruenta, factus praeda maiori minor:
 pro iure uires esse. tum primum manu
 bellare nuda saxaque et ramos rudes 545
 uertere in arma: non erat gracili leuis
 armata ferro cornus aut longo latus
 mucrone cingens ensis aut crista procul
 galeae comantes: tela faciebat dolor.
 inuenit artes bellicus Mauors nouas 550
 et mille formas mortis. hinc terras cruor
 infecit omnis fusus et rubuit mare.
 tum scelera dempto fine per cunctas domos
 iere, nullum caruit exemplo nefas:
 a fratre frater, dextera gnati parens 555
 cecidit, maritus coniugis ferro iacet
 perimuntque fetus impiae matres suos;
 taceo nouercas: mitius nil est feris.

Sed dux malorum femina: haec scelerum artifex
 obsedit animos, huius incestae stupris 560
 fumant tot urbes, bella tot gentes gerunt
 et uersa ab imo regna tot populos premunt.
 sileantur aliae: sola coniunx Aegei,

Medea, reddet feminas dirum genus.

NVT. Cur omnium fit culpa paucarum scelus? 565

HI. Detestor omnis, horreo fugio execror.

sit ratio, sit natura, sit dirus furor:

odisse placuit. ignibus iunges aquas

et amica ratibus ante promittet uada

incerta Syrtis, ante ab extremo sinu 570

Hesperia Tethys lucidum attollet diem

et ora dammis blanda praebebunt lupi,

quam uictus animum feminae mitem geram.

NVT. Saepe obstinatis induit frenos Amor

et odia mutat. regna materna aspice: 575

illae feroces sentiunt Veneris iugum;

testaris istud unicus gentis puer.

HI. Solamen unum matris amissae fero,

odisse quod iam feminas omnis licet.

NVT. Vt dura cautes undique intractabilis 580

resistit undis et lacescentes aquas

longe remittit, uerba sic spernit mea.

Sed Phaedra praeceps graditur, impatiens morae.

quo se dabit fortuna? quo uerget furor?

terrae repente corpus exanimum accidit 585

et ora morti similis obduxit color.

attolle uultus, dimoue uocis moras:

tuus en, alumna, temet Hippolytus tenet.

PHAEDRA

Quis me dolori reddit atque aestus graues

reponit animo? quam bene excideram mihi! 590

HI. Cur dulce munus redditae lucis fugis?

PH. Aude, anime, tempta, perage mandatum tuum.

intrepida constant uerba: qui timide rogat

docet negare. magna pars sceleris mei

olim peracta est; serus est nobis pudor: 595

amauimus nefanda. si coepta exequor,
 forsā iugali crimen abscondam face:
 honesta quaedam scelera successus facit.
 en, incipe, anime! —Commodēs paulum, precor,
 secretus aures. si quis est abeat comes. 600

HI. En locus ab omni liber arbitrio uacat.

PH. Sed ora coeptis transitum uerbis negant;
 uis magna uocem mittit et maior tenet.
 uos testor omnis, caelites, hoc quod uolo
 me nolle. 605

HI. Animusne cupiens aliquid effari nequit?

PH. Curae leues locuntur, ingentes stupent.

HI. Committe curas auribus, mater, meis.

PH. Matris superbum est nomen et nimium potens:
 nostros humilīus nomen affectus decet; 610

me uel sororem, Hippolyte, uel famulam uoca,
 famulamque potius: omne seruitium feram.

non me per altās ire si iubeas niues
 pigeat gelatis ingredi Pindi iugis;
 non, si per ignes ire et infesta agmina, 615
 cuncter paratis ensibus pectus dare.

mandata recipe sceptrā, me famulam accipe:
 [te imperia regere, me decet iussa exequi]
 muliebri non est regna tutari urbium.

tu qui iuuentae flore primaēuo uiges, 620
 ciues paterno fortis imperio rege;
 sinu receptam supplicem ac seruam tege:

miserere uiduae. HI. Summus hoc omen deus
 auertat. aderit sospes actutum parens.

PH. Regni tenacis dominus et tacitae Stygis 625
 nullam relictos fecit ad superos uiam:
 thalami remittet ille raptorem sui?
 nisi forte amorī placidus et Pluton sedet.

HI. Illum quidem aequi caelites reducem dabunt.
 sed dum tenebit uota in incerto deus, 630
 pietate caros debita fratres colam,
 et te merebor esse ne uiduam putes
 ac tibi parentis ipse supplebo locum.
 PH. O spes amantum credula, o fallax Amor!
 satisne dixi? —precibus admotis agam. 635
 Miserere, tacitae mentis exaudi preces—
 libet loqui pigetque. HI. Quodnam istud malum est?
 PH. Quod in nouercam cadere uix credas malum.
 HI. Ambigua uoce uerba perplexa iacis:
 effare aperte. PH. Pectus insanum uapor 640
 amorque torret. intimis saeuit ferus
 [penitus medullas atque per uenas meat]
 uisceribus ignis mersus et uenas latens
 ut agilis altas flamma percurrit trabes.
 HI. Amore nempe Thesei casto furis? 645
 PH. Hippolyte, sic est: Thesei uultus amo
 illos priores, quos tulit quondam puer,
 cum prima puras barba signarat genas
 monstrique caecam Cnosii uidit domum
 et longa curua fila collegit uia. 650
 quis tum ille fulsit! presserant uittae comam
 et ora flauus tenera tinguebat pudor;
 inerant lacertis mollibus fortes tori,
 tuaeque Phoebes uultus aut Phoebi mei,
 tuusue potius—talis, en talis fuit 655
 cum placuit hosti, sic tulit celsum caput.
 in te magis refulget incomptus decor:
 est genitor in te totus et toruae tamen
 pars aliqua matris miscet ex aequo decus:
 in ore Graio Scythicus apparet rigor. 660

636 tacitae ω : pauidae *Axelson* 641 amorque *A*: amore *E* saeuit
Gronouius: ferit *E* ante corr. 642 omisit *E* 643 uenas *Bothe*: -is ω 648
 signarat *Mayer*: -et ω

si cum parente Creticum intrasses fretum,
 tibi fila potius nostra neuisset soror.
 Te te, soror, quacumque siderei poli
 in parte fulges, inuoco ad causam parem:
 domus sorores una corripuit duas, 665
 te genitor, at me gnatus. —en supplex iacet
 adlapsa genibus regiae proles domus.
 respersa nulla labe et intacta, innocens
 tibi mutor uni. certa descendi ad preces:
 finem hic dolori faciet aut uitae dies. 670
 miserere amantis. —HI. Magne regnator deum,
 tam lentus audis scelera? tam lentus uides?
 ecquando saeua fulmen emittes manu,
 si nunc serenum est? omnis impulsus ruat
 aether et atris nubibus condat diem, 675
 ac uersa retro sidera obliquos agant
 retorta cursus. tuque, sidereum caput,
 radiate Titan, tu nefas stirpis tuae
 speculari? lucem merge et in tenebras fuge.
 cur dextra, diuum rector atque hominum, uacat 680
 tua, nec trisulca mundus ardescit face?
 in me tona, me fige, me uelox cremet
 transactus ignis: sum nocens, merui mori:
 placui nouercae. dignus en stupris ego?
 scelerique tanto uisus ego solus tibi 685
 materia facilis? hoc meus meruit rigor?
 o scelere uincens omne femineum genus,
 o maius ausa matre monstrifera malum
 genetrice peior! illa se tantum stupro
 contaminauit, et tamen tacitum diu 690
 crimen biformi partus exhibuit nota,
 scelusque matris arguit uultu truci
 ambiguus infans—ille te uenter tulit.

o ter quaterque prospero fato dati
 quos hausit et peremit et leto dedit 695
 odium dolusque—genitor, inuideo tibi:
 Colchide nouerca maius hoc, maius malum est.

PH. Et ipsa nostrae fata cognosco domus:
 fugienda petimus; sed mei non sum potens.
 te uel per ignes, per mare insanum sequar 700
 rupesque et amnes, unda quos torrens rapit;
 quacumque gressus tuleris hac amens agar—
 iterum, superbe, genibus aduoluor tuis.

HI. Procul impudicos corpore a casto amoue
 tactus—quid hoc est? etiam in amplexus ruit? 705
 stringatur ensis, merita supplicia exigit.
 en impudicum crine contorto caput
 laeua reflexi: iustior numquam focus
 datus tuis est sanguis, arquitenens dea.

PH. Hippolyte, nunc me compotem uoti facis; 710
 sanas furem. maius hoc uoto meo est,
 saluo ut pudore manibus immoriar tuis.

HI. Abscede, uiue, ne quid exores, et hic
 contactus ensis deserat castum latus.
 quis eluet me Tanais aut quae barbaris 715
 Maeotis undis Pontico incumbens mari?
 non ipse toto magnus Oceano pater
 tantum expiarit sceleris. o siluae, o ferae!

NVT. Deprensa culpa est. anime, quid segnis stupes?
 regeramus ipsi crimen atque ultro impiam 720
 Venerem arguamus: scelere uelandum est scelus;
 tutissimum est inferre, cum timeas, gradum.
 ausae priores simus an passae nefas,
 secreta cum sit culpa, quis testis sciet?

Adeste, Athenae! fida famulorum manus, 725
 fer opem! nefando raptor Hippolytus stupro

instat premitque, mortis intentat metum,
 ferro pudicam terret—en praeceps abit
 ensemque trepida liquit attonitus fuga.
 pignus tenemus sceleris. hanc maestam prius 730
 recreate. crinis tractus et lacerae comae
 ut sunt remaneant, facinoris tanti notae.
 perferte in urbem! —Recipe iam sensus, era.
 quid te ipsa lacerans omnium aspectus fugis?
 mens impudicam facere, non casus, solet. 735

CHORVS

Fugit insanae similis procellae,
 ocior nubes glomerante Coro,
 ocior cursum rapiente flamma,
 stella cum uentis agitata longos
 porrigit ignes. 740
 Conferat tecum decus omne priscum
 fama miratrix senioris aevi:
 pulcrior tanto tua forma lucet,
 clarior quanto micat orbe pleno
 cum suos ignes coeunte cornu 745
 iunxit et curru properante pernox
 exerit uultus rubicunda Phoebe
 nec tenent stellae faciem minores;
 talis est, primas referens tenebras,
 nuntius noctis, modo lotus undis 750
 Hesperus, pulsus iterum tenebris
 Lucifer idem.
 Et tu, thyrsigera Liber ab India,
 intonsa iuuenis perpetuum coma,
 tigres pampinea cuspide territans 755
 ac mitra cohibens cornigerum caput,

non uinces rigidas Hippolyti comas.
 ne uultus nimium suspicias tuos,
 omnis per populos fabula distulit,
 Phaedrae quem Bromio praetulerit soror. 760

Anceps forma bonum mortalibus,
 exigui donum breue temporis,
 ut uelox celeri pede laberis!
 non sic prata nouo uere decentia
 aestatis calidae despoliat uapor 765
 saeuit solstitio cum medius dies
 et noctes breuibz praecipitant rotis,
 languescunt folio lilia pallido
 et gratae capiti deficiunt rosae,
 ut fulgor teneris qui radiat genis 770
 momento rapitur nullaue non dies
 formosi spoliū corporis abstulit.
 res est forma fugax: quis sapiens bono
 confidat fragili? dum licet, utere.
 tempus te tacitum subruit, horaue 775
 semper praeterita deterior subit.

Quid deserta petis? tutior auis
 non est forma locis: te nemore abdito,
 cum Titan medium constituit diem,
 cingent, turba licens, Naidēs improbae, 780
 formosos solitae claudere fontibus,
 et somnis facient insidias tuis

lasciuae nemorum deae
 montuagiae Panes.

Aut te stellifero despiciens polo 785
 sidus post ueteres Arcadas editum
 currus non poterit flectere candidos.
 en nuper rubuit, nullaue lucidis

758 *post tuos comma posuit Mayer, colon edd.*
 -at ω

767 praecipitant Gronovius:

nubes sordidior uultibus obstitit;
at nos solliciti numine turbido, 790
tractam Thessalicis carminibus rati,
tinnitus dedimus: tu fueras labor
et tu causa morae, te dea noctium
dum spectat celeres sustinuit uias.

Vexent hanc faciem frigora parcius, 795
haec solem facies rarius appetat:
lucebit Pario marmore clarius.
quam grata est facies torua uiriliter
et pondus ueteris triste supercili!
Phoebo colla licet splendida compares: 800
illum caesaries nescia colligi

perfundens umeros ornat et integit;
te frons hirta decet, te breuior coma
nulla lege iacens; tu licet asperos
pugnacesque deos uiribus audeas 805
et uasti spatio uincere corporis:

aequas Herculeos nam iuuenis toros,
Martis belligeri pectore latior.
si dorso libeat cornipedis uehi,
frenis Castorea mobilior manu 810
Spartanum poteris flectere Cyllaron.

ammentum digitis tende prioribus
et totis iaculum derige uiribus:
tam longe, dociles spicula figere,
non mittent gracilem Cretes harundinem. 815
aut si tela modo spargere Parthico
in caelum placeat, nulla sine alite
descendent, tepido uiscere condita
praedam de mediis nubibus afferent.

Raris forma uiris (saecula perspice) 820
impunita fuit. te melior deus
tutum praetereat formaque nobilis
deformis senii monstret imaginem.

Quid sinat inausum feminae praeceps furor?
nefanda iuueni crimina insonti apparat. 825
en scelera! quaerit crine lacerato fidem,
decus omne turbat capitis, umectat genas:
instruitur omni fraude feminea dolus.

Sed iste quisnam est regium in uultu decus
gerens et alto uertice attollens caput? 830
ut ora iuueni paria Pittheo gerit,
ni languido pallore canderent genae
staretque recta squalor incultus coma!
en ipse Theseus redditus terris adest.

THESEVS

Tandem profugi noctis aeternae plagam 835
uastoque manes carcere umbrantem polum,
et uix cupitum sufferunt oculi diem.
iam quarta Eleusin dona Triptolemi secat
paremque totiens libra composuit diem,
ambiguus ut me sortis ignotae labor 840
detinuit inter mortis et uitae mala.
pars una uitae mansit extincto mihi,
sensus malorum; finis Alcides fuit,
qui cum reuulsum Tartaro abstraheret canem,
me quoque supernas pariter ad sedes tulit. 845
sed fessa uirtus robore antiquo caret
trepidantque gressus. heu, labor quantus fuit
Phlegethonte ab imo petere longinquum aethera
pariterque mortem fugere et Alciden sequi.

Quis fremitus aures flebilis pepulit meas? 850
expromat aliquis. luctus et lacrimae et dolor,
in limine ipso maesta lamentatio?
hospitia digna prorsus inferno hospite.

NVTRIX

Tenet obstinatum Phaedra consilium necis
fletusque nostros spernit ac morti imminet. 855

TH. Quae causa leti? reduce cur moritur uiro?

NVT. Haec ipsa letum causa maturum attulit.

TH. Perplexa magnum uerba nescioquid tegunt.
effare aperte, quis grauet mentem dolor.

NVT. Haut pandit ulli; maesta secretum occulit 860
statuitque secum ferre quo moritur malum.

iam perge, quaeso, perge: properato est opus.

TH. Reserate clausos regii postes laris.

O socia thalami, sicine aduentum uiri
et expetiti coniugis uultum excipis? 865

quin ense uiduas dexteram atque animum mihi
restituis et te quidquid e uita fugat

expromis? PH. Eheu, per tui sceptrum imperi,
magnanime Theseu, perque natorum indolem
tuosque reditus perque iam cineres meos, 870

permittite mortem. TH. Causa quae cogit mori?

PH. Si causa leti dicitur, fructus perit.

TH. Nemo istud alius, me quidem excepto, audiet.

PH. Aures pudica coniugis solas timet.

TH. Effare: fido pectore arcana oculam. 875

PH. Alium silere quod uoles, primus sile.

TH. Leti facultas nulla continget tibi.

PH. Mori uolenti desse mors numquam potest.

TH. Quod sit luendum morte delictum indica.

PH. Quod uiuo. TH. Lacrimae nonne te nostrae mouent?

PH. Mors optima est perire lacrimandum suis. 881

TH. Silere pergit. — uerbere ac uinclis anus
altrixque prodet quidquid haec fari abnuit.

Vincite ferro. uerberum uis extrahat

secreta mentis. PH. Ipsa iam fabor, mane. 885

TH. Quidnam ora maesta auertis et lacrimas genis

subito coortas ueste praetenta optegis?

PH. Te te, creator caelitum, testem inuoco,
et te, coruscum lucis aetheriae iubar,

ex cuius ortu nostra dependet domus: 890

temptata precibus restiti; ferro ac minis
non cessit animus: uim tamen corpus tulit.

labem hanc pudoris eluet noster cruor.

TH. Quis, ede, nostri decoris euersor fuit?

PH. Quem rere minime. TH. Quis sit audire expeto. 895

PH. Hic dicet ensis, quem tumultu territus

liquit stuprator ciuium accursum timens.

TH. Quod facinus, heu me, cerno? quod monstrum intuor?

regale patriis asperum signis ebur

capulo refulget, gentis Actaeae decus. 900

sed ipse quonam euasit? PH. Hi trepidum fuga

uidere famuli concitum celeri pede.

TH. Pro sancta Pietas, pro gubernator poli

et qui secundum fluctibus regnum moues,

unde ista uenit generis infandi lues? 905

hunc Graia tellus aluit an Taurus Scythes

Colchusque Phasis? redit ad auctores genus

stirpemque primam degener sanguis refert.

est prorsus iste gentis armiferae furor,

odisse Veneris foedera et castum diu 910

uulgare populis corpus. o taetrum genus

nullaque uictum lege melioris soli!

ferae quoque ipsae Veneris euitant nefas,

generisque leges inscius seruat pudor.

Vbi uultus ille et ficta maiestas uiri 915

atque habitus horrens, prisca et antiqua appetens,

morumque senium triste et affectus graues?

o uita fallax, abditos sensus geris

animisque pulcram turpibus faciem induis:

pudor impudentem celat, audacem quies, 920

pietas nefandum; uera fallaces probant

simulantque molles dura. siluarum incola
 ille efferatus castus intactus rudis,
 mihi te reseruas? a meo primum toro
 et scelere tanto placuit ordini uirum? 925
 iam iam superno numini grates ago,
 quod icta nostra cecidit Antiope manu,
 quod non ad antra Stygia descendens tibi
 matrem reliqui. Profugus ignotas procul
 percurrere gentes: te licet terra ultimo 930
 summotam mundo dirimat Oceani plagis
 orbemque nostris pedibus obuersum colas,
 licet in recessu penitus extremo abditus
 horrida celsi regna transieris poli
 hiemesque supra positus et canas niues 935
 gelidi frementes liqueris Boreae minas
 post te furentes, sceleribus poenas dabis.
 profugum per omnis pertinax latebras premam:
 longinqua clausa abstrusa diuersa inuia
 emetiemur, nullus obstabit locus: 940
 scis unde redeam. tela quo mitti haud queunt,
 huc uota mittam: genitor aequoreus dedit
 ut uota prono terga concipiam deo,
 et inuocata munus hoc sanxit Styge.

En perage donum triste, regnator freti! 945
 non cernat ultra lucidum Hippolytus diem
 adeatque manes iuuenis iratos patri.
 fer abominandam nunc opem gnato parens:
 numquam supremum numinis munus tui
 consumeremus, magna ni premerent mala; 950
 inter profunda Tartara et Ditem horridum
 et imminentes regis inferni minas,
 uoto peperci: redde nunc pactam fidem. —
 genitor, moraris? cur adhuc undae silent?
 nunc atra uentis nubila impellentibus 955

subtexe noctem, sidera et caelum eripe,
effunde pontum, uulgus aequoreum cie
fluctusque ab ipso tumidus Oceano uoca.

CHORVS

O magna parens, Natura, deum
tuque igniferi rector Olympi, 960
qui sparsa cito sidera mundo
cursusque uagos rapis astrorum
celerique polos cardine uersas,
cur tanta tibi cura perennes
agitare uices aetheris alti, 965
ut nunc canae frigora brumae
nudent siluas,
nunc arbustis redeant umbrae,
nunc aestiui colla leonis
Cererem magno feruore coquant 970
uiresque suas temperet annus?
sed cur idem qui tanta regis,
sub quo uasti pondera mundi
librata suos ducunt orbes,
hominum nimium securus abes, 975
non sollicitus prodesse bonis,
nocuisse malis?
Res humanas ordine nullo
Fortuna regit sparsitque manu
munera caeca peiora fouens: 980
uincit sanctos dira libido,
fraus sublimi regnat in aula;
tradere turpi fascēs populus
gaudet, eosdem colit atque odit.
tristis uirtus peruersa tulit 985
praemia recti:

castos sequitur mala paupertas
 uitioque potens regnat adulter—
 o uane pudor falsumque decus!

Sed quid citato nuntius portat gradu
 rigatque maestis lugubrem uultum genis? 990

NUNTIVS

O sors acerba et dura, famulatus grauis,
 cur me ad nefandi nuntium casus uocas?
 TH. Ne metue cladis fortiter fari asperas:
 non imparatum pectus aerumnis gero.
 NVN. Vocem dolori lingua luctificam negat. 995
 TH. Proloquere, quae sors aggrauet quassam domum.
 NVN. Hippolytus, heu me, flebili leto occubat.
 TH. Gnatum parens obisse iam pridem scio:
 nunc raptor obiit. mortis effare ordinem.
 NVN. Vt profugus urbem liquit infesto gradu 1000
 celerem citatis passibus cursum explicans,
 celso sonipedes ocus subigit iugo
 et ora frenis domita substrictis ligat.
 tum multa secum effatus et patrium solum
 abominatus saepe genitorem ciet 1005
 acerque habenis lora permissis quatit:
 cum subito uastum tonuit ex alto mare
 creuitque in astra. nullus inspirat salo
 uentus, quieti nulla pars caeli strepit
 placidumque pelagus propria tempestas agit. 1010
 non tantus Auster Sicula disturbat freta
 nec tam furens Ionius exsurgit sinus
 regnante Coro, saxa cum fluctu tremunt
 et cana summum spuma Leucaten ferit.
 consurgit ingens pontus in uastum aggerem, 1015

[tumidumque monstro pelagus in terras ruit]
 nec ista ratibus tanta construitur lues:
 terris minatur; fluctus haud cursu leui
 prouoluitur; nescioquid onerato sinu
 grauis unda portat. quae nouum tellus caput 1020
 ostendet astris? Cyclas exoritur noua?
 latuere rupes numine Epidauri dei
 et scelere petrae nobiles Scironides
 et quae duobus terra comprimitur fretis.
 Haec dum stupentes quaerimus, totum en mare 1025
 immugit, omnes undique scopuli adstrepunt;
 summum cacumen rorat expulso sale,
 spumat uomitque uicibus alternis aquas
 qualis per alta uehitur Oceani freta
 fluctum refundens ore physeter capax. 1030
 inhorruit concussus undarum globus
 soluitque sese et litori inuexit malum
 maius timore, pontus in terras ruit
 suumque monstrum sequitur—os quassat tremor.
 Quis habitus ille corporis uasti fuit! 1035
 caerulea taurus colla sublimis gerens
 erexit altam fronte uiridanti iubam;
 stant hispidae aures, orbibus uarius color,
 et quem feri dominator habuisset gregis
 et quem sub undis natus: hinc flammam uomunt 1040
 oculi, hinc relucent caerulea insignes nota;
 opima ceruix arduos tollit toros
 naresque hiulcis haustibus patulae fremunt;
 musco tenaci pectus ac palear uiret,
 longum rubenti spargitur fuco latus; 1045
 tum pone tergus ultima in monstrum coit

1016 *deleuit Leo* 1022 *numine Leo: numen ω* 1025 *quaerimus E:*
querimus A *totum en Peiper: en totum ω*

facies et ingens belua immensam trahit
squamosa partem. talis extremo mari
pistrix citatas sorbet aut frangit rates.

Tremuere terrae, fugit attonitum pecus 1050

passim per agros, nec suos pastor sequi
meminit iuuenos; omnis e saltu fera
diffugit, omnis frigido exsanguis metu
uenator horret. solus immunis metu
Hippolytus artis continet frenis equos 1055

pavidosque notae uocis hortatu ciet.
Est alta ad Argos collibus ruptis uia,
uicina tangens spatia suppositi maris;
hic se illa moles acuit atque iras parat.

ut cepit animos seque praetemptans satis 1060

proludit irae, praepeti cursu euolat,
summam citato uix gradu tangens humum,
et torua currus ante trepidantis stetit.
contra feroci gnatus insurgens minax
uultu nec ora mutat et magnum intonat: 1065

‘haud frangit animum uanus hic terror meum:
nam mihi paternus uincere est tauros labor.’

Inobsequentes protinus frenis equi
rapuere currum iamque derrantes uia,
quacumque rabidos pavidus euexit furor, 1070
hac ire pergunt seque per scopulos agunt.

at ille, qualis turbido rector mari
ratem retentat, ne det obliquum latus,
et arte fluctum fallit, haud aliter citos
currus gubernat: ora nunc pressis trahit 1075

constricta frenis, terga nunc torto frequens
uerbere coerces. sequitur adsiduus comes,
nunc aequa carpens spatia, nunc contra obuius
oberrat, omni parte terrorem mouens.

non licuit ultra fugere: nam toto obuius 1080
incurrit ore corniger ponti horridus.

tum uero pauida sonipedes mente exciti
 imperia soluunt seque luctantur iugo
 eripere rectique in pedes iactant onus.

Praeceptis in ora fusus implicuit cadens 1085

laqueo tenaci corpus et quanto magis
 pugnat, sequaces hoc magis nodos ligat.
 sensere pecudes facinus—et curru leui,
 dominante nullo, qua timor iussit ruunt.

talis per auras non suum agnoscens onus 1090

Solique falso creditum indignans diem
 Phaethonta currus deuio excussit polo.

Late cruentat arua et inlisum caput
 scopulis resultat; auferunt dumi comas,

et ora durus pulcra populatur lapis 1095

peritque multo uulnere infelix decor.

moribunda celeres membra peruoluunt rotae;

tandemque raptum truncus ambusta sude

medium per inguen stipite ingesto tenet;

paulumque domino currus affixo stetit. 1100

haesere biiuges uulnere — et pariter moram

dominumque rumpunt. inde semianimem secant

uirgulta, acutis asperi uepres rubis

omnisque truncus corporis partem tulit.

Errant per agros funebris famuli manus, 1105

per illa qua distractus Hippolytus loca

longum cruenta tramitem signat nota,

maestaeque domini membra uestigant canes.

necdum dolentum sedulus potuit labor

explere corpus—hocine est formae decus? 1110

qui modo paterni clarus imperii comes

et certus heres siderum fulsit modo,

passim ad supremos ille colligitur rogos

et funeri confertur. TH. O nimium potens

quanto parentes sanguinis uinclo tenes 1115
 natura! quam te colimus inuiti quoque!
 occidere uolui noxium, amissum fleo.
 NVN. Haud flere honeste quisque quod uoluit potest.
 TH. Equidem malorum maximum hunc cumulum reor,
 si abominanda casus optanda efficit. 1120
 NVN. Et si odia seruas, cur madent fletu genae?
 TH. Quod interemi, non quod amisi, fleo.

CHORVS

Quanti casus humana rotant!
 minor in paruis Fortuna furit
 leuiusque ferit leuiora deus; 1125
 seruat placidos obscura quies
 praebetque senes casa securos.

Admota aetheriis culmina sedibus
 Euros excipiunt, excipiunt Notos,
 insani Boreae minas 1130
 imbriferumque Corum.

Raros patitur fulminis ictus
 umida uallis:
 tremuit telo Iouis altisoni
 Caucasus ingens Phrygiumque nemus 1135
 matris Cybeles: metuens caelo
 Iuppiter alto uicina petit;
 non capit umquam magnos motus
 humilis tecti plebeia domus.
 [circa regna tonat] 1140

Volat ambiguis mobilis alis
 hora, nec ulli praestat uelox
 Fortuna fidem:

hic qui clari sidera mundi
 nitidumque diem <laetus uidit> morte relictā 1145
 luget maestos tristis reditus
 ipsoque magis flebile Auerno
 sedis patriae uidet hospitium.

Pallas Actaeae ueneranda genti,
 quod tuus caelum superosque Theseus 1150
 spectat et fugit Stygias paludes,
 casta nil debes patruo rapaci:
 constat inferno numerus tyranno.

Quae uox ab altis flebilis tectis sonat
 strictoque uecors Phaedra quid ferro parat? 1155

THESEVS

Quis te dolore percitam instigat furor?
 quid ensis iste quidue uociferatio
 planctusque supra corpus inuisum uolunt?

PHAEDRA

Me me, profundi saeue dominator freti,
 inuade et in me monstra caerulei maris 1160
 emitte, quidquid intimo Tethys sinu
 extrema gestat, quidquid Oceanus uagis
 complexus undis ultimo fluctu tegit.
 O dure Theseu semper, o numquam tuis
 tuto reuerse: gnatus et genitor nece 1165
 reditus tuos luere; peruertis domum
 amore semper coniugum aut odio nocens.

Hippolyte, tales intuor uultus tuos
 talesque feci? membra quis saeuus Sinis
 aut quis Procrustes sparsit aut quis Cresius, 1170

1145 laetus uidit *suppl. Leo exempli gr.*

Daedalea uasto claustra mugitu replens,
 taurus biformis ore cornigero ferox
 diuulsit? heu me, quo tuus fugit decor
 oculique nostrum sidus? exanimis iaces?
 ades parumper uerbaque exaudi mea. 1175
 nil turpe loquimur: hac manu poenas tibi
 soluam et nefando pectori ferrum inseram,
 animaeque memet pariter ac scelere exuam.
 et te per undas perque Tartareos lacus,
 per Styga, per amnes igneos amens sequar. 1180
 placemus umbras: capitis exuuias cape
 laceraeque frontis accipe abscisam comam.
 non licuit animos iungere, at certe licet
 iunxisse fata. morere, si casta es, uiro;
 si incesta, amor. coniugis thalamos petam 1185
 tanto impiatos facinore? hoc derat nefas,
 ut uindicto sancta fruereris toro.
 o mors amoris una sedamen mali,
 o mors pudoris maximum laesi decus,
 confugimus ad te: pande placatos sinus. 1190
 Audite, Athenae, tuque, funesta pater
 peior nouerca: falsa memorauit et nefas,
 quod ipsa demens pectore insano hauseram,
 mentita finxi. uana punisti pater,
 iuuenisque castus crimine incesto iacet, 1195
 pudicus, insons — recipe iam mores tuos.
 mucrone pectus impium iusto patet
 cruorque sancto soluit inferias uiro.
 TH. Quid facere rapto debeas gnato parens,
 disce a nouerca: condere Acherontis plagis. 1200

Pallidi fauces Auerni uosque, Taenarii specus,
 unda miseris grata Lethes uosque, torpentes lacus,

impium rapite atque mersum premitte perpetuis malis.
 nunc adeste, saeua ponti monstra, nunc uastum mare,
 ultimo quodcumque Proteus aequorum abscondit sinu,
 meque ouantem scelere tanto rapite in altos gurgites, 1206
 tuque, semper, genitor, irae facilis assensor meae:
 morte facili dignus haud sum qui noua natum nece
 segregem sparsi per agros quique, dum falsum nefas
 exsequor uindex seuerus, incidi in uerum scelus. 1210
 sidera et manes et undas scelere compleui meo:
 amplius sors nulla restat; regna me norunt tria.

In hoc redimus? patuit ad caelum uia,
 bina ut uiderem funera et geminam necem,
 caelebs et orbus funebres una face 1215
 ut concremarem prolis ac thalami rogos?
 donator atrae lucis, Alcide, tuum
 Diti remitte munus; ereptos mihi
 restitue manes.—impius frustra inuoco
 mortem relictam: crudus et leti artifex, 1220
 exitia machinatus insolita efferat,
 nunc tibimet ipse iusta supplicia irroga.
 pinus coacto uertice attingens humum
 caelo remissum findat in geminas trabes,
 mittarue praeceps saxa per Scironia? 1225
 grauiora uidi, quae pati clausos iubet
 Phlegethon nocentes igneo cingens uado.
 quae poena memet maneat et sedes, scio:
 umbrae nocentes, cedite et ceruicibus
 his, his repositum degrauiet fessas manus 1230
 saxum, seni perennis Aeolio labor;
 me ludat amnis ora uicina alluens;
 uultur relicto transuolet Tityo ferus
 meumque poenae semper accrescat iecur;

1204 uastum mare ω: -ti ... -ris *Axelsson*; -tum ... pecus *Richter* 1207
interpunxit Housman 1224 trabes (ω) *suspectum*

et tu mei requiesce Pirithoi pater: 1235
haec incitatis membra turbinibus ferat
nusquam resistens orbe reuoluto rota.
Dehisce tellus, recipe me dirum chaos,
recipe, haec ad umbras iustior nobis uia est:
gnatum sequor—ne metue qui manes regis: 1240
casti uenimus; recipe me aeterna domo
non exiturum.—non mouent diuos preces;
at, si rogarem scelera, quam proni forent!
CHO. Theseu, querelis tempus aeternum manet:
nunc iusta nato solue et absconde ocus 1245
dispersa foede membra laniatu effero.
TH. Huc, huc, reliquias uehite cari corporis
pondusque et artus temere congestos date.
Hippolytus hic est? crimen agnosco meum:
ego te peremi; neu nocens tantum semel 1250
solusue fierem, facinus ausurus parens
patrem aduocaui. munere en patrio fruor.
o triste fractis orbitas annis malum!
complectere artus, quodque de nato est super,
miserande, maesto pectore incumbens, foue. 1255
Disiecta, genitor, membra laceri corporis
in ordinem dispone et errantes loco
restituere partes: fortis hic dextrae locus,
hic laeua frenis docta moderandis manus
ponenda: laeui lateris agnosco notas. 1260
quam magna lacrimis pars adhuc nostris abest!
durate trepidae lugubri officio manus,
fletusque largos sistite, arentes genae,
dum membra nato genitor adnumerat suo
corpusque fingit. hoc quid est forma carens 1265
et turpe, multo uulnere abruptum undique?
quae pars tui sit dubito; sed pars est tui:
hic, hic repone, non suo, at uacuo loco.
haecne illa facies igne sidereo nitens,

inimica flectens pectora? huc cecidit decor? 1270
o dira fata, numinum o saeuus fauor!
sic ad parentem natus ex uoto redit?
en haec suprema dona genitoris cape,
saepe efferendus; interim haec ignes ferant.

Patefacite acerbam caede funesta domum; 1275
Mopsopia claris tota lamentis sonet.
uos apparate regii flammam rogi;
at uos per agros corporis partes uagas
inquirite. — istam terra defossam premat,
grauisque tellus impio capiti incubet. 1280

1270 pectora *Mayer*: lumina ω

COMMENTARY

ACT I PROLOGUE

1-84

The first act of *Phaedra* is unusual within the corpus of Senecan drama on two counts. First, it is divided into two scenes, and secondly, the action begins before the entry of the chorus. The other plays follow a convention, associated chiefly with Euripides, of beginning with a prologue; the speaker need take no part in the subsequent action (so in *H.F.*, *Ag.*, *Thy.*), but may be one of the chief actors (so *Tro.*, *Med.*, *Oed.*). These prologues are only expository of background in a sketchy way; their main aim is to produce an atmosphere of menace (Canter (1925) 25). They are spoken, in iambs. The *Phaedra*, however, opens with a first scene in anapaests, a lyric monody (Euripides' posthumous *Iphigenia in Aulis* is transmitted with an opening dialogue in anapaests). Moreover the theme of the song does not look forward to the action of the play, nor does the speaker identify or even much characterize himself: he is a huntsman and excitedly urges on his men (the anapaests well convey this excitement). The setting is clear: Attica; so too the time: early morning (42-3). The connection of the introductory monody with the second scene, which introduces the main action, is weak. Attempts are made to forge a link between them on a plane of psychological contrast. The huntsman's vigorous self-assurance in his landscape is deemed to be a foil to the disordered emotion of Phaedra. That a contrast in the characters exists is undeniable. That juxtaposition is a device of dramatic cohesion may be doubted. If the opening monody were absent, would Phaedra's plight be diminished in pathos, or would the course of the action be less clear? The opening scene adds nothing to the drama or to an understanding of the speaker's disposition (Barrett 35, Zwierlein (1987) 104-5). For the odd feature of the monody is that S. treats the speaker not as an Hippolytus, but simply as a huntsman. It is never suggested that chastity is a guiding principle of the young man's moral life. In *Phaedra* the chastity of Hippolytus is taken to be common knowledge (236-9), but it has not been alluded to as a trait beforehand. (Devotion to Diana and the hunt are not in themselves sufficient tokens

of it.) Chastity is the central issue of the myth of Hippolytus; this is well set out by W. Burkert in *History and structure in Greek mythology and ritual* (1979) 111-18. Euripides therefore focussed on the trait at the beginning of his *Hippolytus* (73-81); no one who hears the young man speak of the unculled meadow, where no steel comes, but only the bee in spring, can fail to appreciate his disposition. But there is nothing analogous in the mouth of S.'s huntsman; all details focus on the hunt. It is probable that S., who often takes for granted the audience's knowledge of *historia fabularis*, here too assumes that we will identify the huntsman as Hippolytus and so recall the essential element of his moral life, chastity.

All S. set out to do, therefore, in this lyric prologue was to describe a hunt, not to realize the character of an Hippolytus. This he does with enthusiasm, and it is easy to share the belief of Daremberg (in D-S s.v. *Venatio* v 696) that S.'s frequent and well-informed references to hunting elsewhere in his works point to a personal interest. The detail at 77-8, for instance, is owed to observation and not to reading. Despite Horace's belief that hunting was a Roman tradition (*Epist.* 1.18.49), it was a Greek pursuit that became increasingly fashionable in Rome in the first century B.C. The panoply and excitement of the hunt offered the poets a rich vein to exploit, and Virgil was among the first to describe it, notably in *Aen.* iv and vii. Ovid too spreads himself in describing an epic chase, the Calydonian boar hunt, at *Met.* 8.260-444. For S., however, these are not so much models as antecedents. He adopts a different technique for the layout of his description, which deserves notice.

One of the most original contributions to narrative technique of Hellenistic poets, above all Callimachus, is the illusory enactment of a scene as related by an observer, or better, by a chief figure in the action, e.g., a master of ceremonies at a religious rite. This narrative technique is much described in recent studies.¹ The prologue to the *Phaedra* employs this device and the layout may usefully be compared to that in Callimachus' fifth hymn. A 'master of ceremonies' gives orders to assistants, huntsmen in S., celebrants in Callimachus; they are bidden to bring up appropriate gear. The master then invokes the deity, who duly

¹ E.g., G. Williams, *Tradition and originality in Roman poetry* (1968) 194-202 and 211-12, N-H on Hor. *C.* 1.27, pp. 310-11, F. Cairns, *Tibullus* (1979) 121-34, A. W. Bulloch on Callim. *Hymn* v, pp. 3-13.

responds. In both cases the description covers the whole process of hunt or cult, though Callimachus includes a myth. S. adroitly manages this all-inclusiveness by referring to capture and kill in the future tense (52-3); the end of the hunters' day is neatly inserted into the cletic hymn to Diana (77-80). The construction is deft, and one usually associated with narrative frameworks found in poets under Hellenistic influence. Indeed those very poets were S.'s constant study and from them he learned the technique of illusory enactment.

The layout is clear-cut, and suggests the neat blocking-out of the student of rhetoric, who aimed at *lucidus ordo*.

I Preparation:

- 1 1-30b localities and quarry,
- 2 31-43 hounds,
- 3 44-53 gear and strategy.

II Invocation:

- 4 54-80 prayer to Diana:
 - (i) 54-72 her haunts and pursuits
 - (ii) 73-80 her favour,
- 5 81-2 epiphany,
- 6 83-4 exit lines of huntsman.

Such an arrangement permits S. to indulge his learning and his love of lists (Canter (1925) 74-6; reliance on lists is a decadent trait, found also in the later poetry of Auden). The scale of the hunt is duly heroic and much of Attica is to be scoured. The Attic geography of the first half, much of it recondite, is mirrored in the second half by the naming of Diana's favourite haunts. S. also balances a list of hounds in the first half against a list of the varied quarries of remote lands in the second.

1 cingite 'encircle' with a cordon, *indago*; Virgil and Ovid, when describing a hunt, express the notion fully: *Aen.* 4.121 *saltusque indagine cingunt*; *Met.* 7.766 *indagine cinximus agros*; S., as usual, compresses.

2 Cecropii: the Athenians were called *Cecropidae* in honour of their first king, Cecrops; *Cecropius* is used of things associated with Athens or Attica. S. has no definite mountain in mind here, rather the mountainous character of the land.

3 *planta* = *pes*, a convenient poetic synonym.

uagi ‘roving’. *uagus* has a large area of meaning, which covers various aspects of movement (cf. 71, 962 and 1162nn. and see Fordyce on Catull. 64.271).

4 *quae...loca*: the antecedent, *loca*, has been drawn into the relative clause, a common device when the relative clause precedes the main sentence, but less usual when it follows (K–S II 309–11); S. is fond of the pattern (cf. 83, 135, 784, 1024, 1106).

Parnetho is an alternative form for Parnes, a good place to hunt boar and bear (Pausanias 1.32.1).

5 *Thriasiis uallibus*: the Thriasian plain is very little referred to by Latin writers, and S. indulges in a display of recondite geographical learning. The plain lies to the N.W. of Athens and S. of Mt Parnes; Eleusis is situated in it (*RE*² s.v. Θριάσιον πεδίον, VIA 1.600). The river referred to may be the Cephissus, which flows near Eleusis.

7 *colles* contrasts with the plain. No mountain in Greece is snow-covered the year round, so *semper* (7) is an exaggeration.

8 *Riphaea*: in a generalized sense, ‘northern’; properly it refers to a mythical mountain, later located in Scythia.

9 *hac, hac*: emphatic repetition, *geminatio*, is very common (Canter (1925) 156–7; cf. 83, 663, 862, 888, 926, 1159, 1247, 1268); combined here with the absence of a verb, it indicates the speaker’s excitement.

alta is a standing epithet of trees and woods (cf. 235); though the alder rarely exceeds fifty feet Virgil too called it *procera* at *Ecl.* 6.63. The whole phrase illustrates the piquant economy of S.’s writing; it means that the grove is *formed* by the intertwining alders.

10 *iacent*: ‘lie’ (*OLD* s.v. 12), perhaps with a notion of spreading out (cf. *TLL* VII 1.23.33–45); it is unnecessary to emend to *patent*, cf. *H.F.* 720 *campus hanc circa iacet*. The repetition of the verb so soon after 4 is a sign of the small working vocabulary of the tragedies. S. works some words hard, e.g., *scelus* and *nefas*, *malus* and *ferus*, *gradus* and *manus*.

11 *rorifera*, like most *-fer* compounds a poetic word, is only found at Lucr. 6.864 before S.

mulcens aura recalls Catull. 62.41 *quem* (sc. *florem*) *mulcent aurae*.

13 *graciles* ‘thin-soiled’ (*OLD* s.v. 3); Thucydides (1.2.5) and Livy (43.6.3) also refer to the poor quality of Attica’s farmland.

leuis ‘scanty’, cf. *amne maligno* (16); in *Tro.* 822 *frequens leuibus riuis*

Mothone ('tiny rills') it may have the same sense; cf. Lucan 4.302 (*non impulsula leui turbatur glare a uena*, 'no gravel was stirred and lifted even by a slender vein of water' (J. D. Duff), and *TLL* vii 2.1207.7off.

14 et: postponed as at 434 and 474 (cf. 239 and 807nn.).

16 tramite laeuo: a pseudo-precision which helps to make the speaker's directions appear realistic; likewise at *Thy.* 642 a part of Atreus' palace is said to face south.

18–19 It is not clear what quarry S. has in mind; deer or hares, which feed at night, may be meant.

20 tepidis ... austris: this wind is so protean that the poets sometimes give it contradictory traits (see Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 7.532).

21 durus Acharneus: the epithet contrasts with the preceding verb. S. is fond of such juxtapositions (111, 130, 201, 309, 653, 919, 1197; cf. Canter (1925) 152–3 and Tarrant on *Ag.* 328). The Acharnian is named instead of the place where he lives, the Attic deme of Acharnae; this idiom, illustrated by Housman on Manil. 4.602 and Lucan 1.421, is also found at *Tro.* 10–11 *et qui ... excipiens diem | ... Tigrin inmiscet freto* (it is not Memnon but his homeland, Ethiopia, which, S. fancies, lets the Tigris join the Red Sea).

22 dulcis alludes to the mountain's famous honey.

23 paruas: the epithet is favoured by the poets, whether true or not; Ovid calls the island Seriphos small (*Met.* 5.242), Lucan uses it of Samos (8.246), and S. uses it of Lyrnesos (*Tro.* 221), Gyrtone (*Tro.* 821), Zacynthos (*Tro.* 856) and Iolcos (*Med.* 457): it is clearly a maid-of-all-work.

24 immunis suggests that the land owes a tribute of game.

26 urget 'encroaches upon' (*OLD* s.v. 6); the thrust of the famous headland out into the sea is well described.

27 tangit 'stirs' as at *Thy.* 130–1 *quem tangit ... Alpheos* (*OLD* s.v. 8).

28 Phyle, N.W. of Athens, was good for hunting; Menander sets the scene of his *Dyscolus* there, and one of the characters, Sostratos, has arrived for the hunting (ἐπὶ θήρῳν 42).

29–30 metus agricolis ... aper: the chief quarry is named last, a boar which has wounded many in previous encounters. *metus* is 'an object of dread', as at *Thy.* 1049–50 *Cecropiis metus | terris Procrustes* (Canter (1925) 130). The appositional phrase precedes its noun, a word-order illustrated by Housman on Manil. 2.23 and N–H on Hor. *C.* 1.3.20.

31-43 The varieties of hound to be used in the chase are now set out in a list, whose order is determined by the rising degree of difficulty in handling (there is a similar list in Lucan, 4.440-1).

31 laxas: predicative; the men are to let out the leashes so that they are loose.

tacitis seems to point to the Umbrian hound, which Seneca describes at *Thy.* 497-501 as a silent tracker.

31-2 mittite ... teneant: the absence of a connective ('but') between clauses of opposite sense is common: it sharpens the contrasted actions. The device is sometimes called adversative asyndeton (cf. 110n. and 524).

34 trito ... collo: the sharp detail may be due to observation, but cf. *Ov. Met.* 15.124-6 *trita labore ... colla* (of oxen).

36 nodo ... propiore: the tightened knot keeps the dogs close to the handler; cf. *Med.* 792 *freno propiore* 'tighter rein'.

37-8 cum ... sonent: the subjunctive here expresses futurity; this usage is sometimes found in relative clauses, and the *cum* clause here is, in effect, relative. There is a discussion in S. A. Handford, *The Latin subjunctive* (1947) 83-5, with an example of a relative *cum* clause from *Cic. Mil.* 69 *inlucescet ille aliquando dies, cum tu ... desideres* (= *desiderabis*). (At *Geor.* 1.493-7 Virgil uses the future: *tempus ueniet cum ... agricola ... inueniet ... pila, aut ... galeas pulsabit ...*)

38 caua 'encircling'; not 'hollow' (Loeb); *cauus* is often a relative term expressing the fact that one object surrounds, conceals, or protects something within it (see Fordyce on *Catull.* 64.259 and *Virg. Aen.* 8.598-9).

39 demissi 'pointing downwards', as *presso ... rostro* (40-1) indicates; cf. [*Ov.*] *Hal.* 78 *demisso quaerunt uestigia rostro*.

40 auras 'scent' (*OLD* s.v. 6).

41-3 Dawn is the appropriate hour for the chase to begin. It should moreover be recalled that, in Athens, plays began about dawn to take full advantage of the daylight in March, and allusions to this time are not infrequent, e.g., *Eur. I.A.* 156-9; *S.*, with less cause, follows suit at *H.F.* 125-38, *Oed.* 1-5, *Ag.* 53-4, *Thy.* 49.

44-53 The progress of a hunt is now described.

44 raras 'wide-meshed' (Pease on *Virg. Aen.* 4.131).

grauī 'burdened' (*OLD* s.v. 2a). The sentence exemplifies that kind of syntactical distribution called ἀπὸ κοινοῦ; with *portare* (44) *properet*

must be supplied, and with *properet* (45) another *portare* is to be understood.

45 teretes ‘fine’ (N–H on Hor. *C.* 1.1.28).

46–7 describe the *formido*, a line adorned with red feathers (cf. *Ira* 2.11.5–6 *rubens pinna*), from which the hunted game turned away into the nets (cf. Virg. *Geor.* 3.372). The line is no real obstacle and so their fear is groundless.

48 tibi: dat. of agent; the use, especially of the personal pronoun, with the present passive is common in S. (cf. Summers lvii and Duff on *Breu. Vit.* 11.2).

49–50 graue ... robur refers to the thrusting-spear, *uenabulum*, which needed both hands to manage.

51 subessor: the technical term for the man who sat near the nets (like the younger Pliny, cf. *Epist.* 1.6 *ad retia sedebam*) is unexpectedly precise; the shouting is described by Virgil, *Geor.* 3.413.

ages: the fut. here and in the next line is used with imperative force, a familiar turn (G L para. 243, H–S 311).

52 solues ‘dislodge’ (*OLD* s.v. 3b); disembowelling marks the end of the chase.

54 Here begins a prayer in the hymnic style described by E. Norden in *Agnostos Theos* (1912) 143–76. An opening address is followed by a list, in relative clauses (Norden 168–76), of cult-sites or pursuits; then the divinity’s power or influence or deeds are listed, often with anaphora of the personal pronoun (as at 60, 61, 63, 64); then comes the request, veiled in descriptive language, at 73–80.

diua uirago refers to Diana by the figure antonomasia, a descriptive phrase or epithet instead of the name. It is one of S.’s favourite rhetorical devices (Canter (1925) 127–8 and 135), which recurs at 87, 94, 109, 121, 149, 193, 199, 223, 274, 277, 334, 406 (Diana), 466, 697, 831, 889, 1022, 1024, 1159, 1231. *uirago* is used of women or of goddesses who engage in masculine activities, e.g. Cassandra at *Ag.* 668; the word is also used of Diana in an inscription, *CIL* III 8298.

56 secreta ‘secluded’; it is used of woods in [Tibull.] 3.19.9 *sic ego secretis possum bene uiuere siluis*.

uacat ‘is set aside for’ (*OLD* s.v. 4).

58 fera does not refer to any definite prey in these remote regions. Diana’s universal sway is emphasized.

potat: drinking a particular river had been since Homer a poetic

phrase to localize a people; the wide usage in Latin is illustrated for *bibo* in *TLL* II 1964. 39–66, and examples in S. are collected by Canter (1925) 124, e.g. *Ag.* 318–21 where three streams are named.

59 stanti ‘solid’ (*OLD* s.v. *sto* 5b).

ludit ‘frisks’; *ludere* often describes playful beasts, esp. in the sea (cf. *TLL* VII 2. 1771.16–43). S. attractively fancies their frolics on the frozen lower Danube; cf. *De prou.* 4.14 *super durata glacie stagna persultant* (the Hister had been mentioned).

60 tua: a hallmark of hymnic style is the repetition at the beginning of a phrase of the second person pronominal forms (cf. N–H on Hor. *C.* 1.10.9); for examples in S. see Tarrant on *Ag.* 311.

61 Cretaeas ... ceruas: a reminiscence of Virg. *Aen.* 4.69–71 *cerua ... | quam ... nemora inter Cresia fixit | pastor.*

sequitur ‘chases’ (*OLD* s.v. 2).

62 leuiore suggests that less effort was needed to shoot the *dammae*, which are reckoned to be smaller than *ceruae*; cf. *Tro.* 956 *o manum Paridis leuem!* ‘O light-weight hand of Paris!’.

63–4 It is a neatly expressed conceit that the tigers boldly face Diana (cf. 616), but other beasts turn in flight; Ov. *Met.* 10.705–6 *genus ... ferarum | quod non terga fugae, sed pugnae pectora praebet* perhaps is the source. S. here lists exotic beasts (the bison and wild ox are German), but he may have seen such a collection at the hunts in the amphitheatre.

66 solis ‘desert’ as at 407 (*OLD* s.v. 3).

67–8 siue illud: anaphora, especially of two words, is a device much favoured by S.; cf. 154–5, 287–8, 418–20, 672, 1039–40, 1188–9 (Canter (1925) 154).

diuite: the forests produced incense for export and so enriched the Arabs; cf. *Med.* 711 *diuites Arabes*, *Oed.* 117 *cinnami siluis Arabas beatos*, Tibull. 2.2.3–4 *odores | quos tener e terra diuite mittit Arabs*. Another list is begun moving from south to north, then west and east.

71 uacuisque: either ‘unobstructed’ (*OLD* s.v. 6) or ‘unowned’ (*ibid.* 9) since the primitive communism of barbarian tribes was commonly assumed (cf. 501). *-que* adds an alternative possibility, cf. 907 (*OLD* s.v. 7).

uagus ‘nomadic’, as at 167 and *Thy.* 631 *uagi passim Scythae*; Ovid introduced the name of the tribe, Sarmatae, to Latin verse in his exilic poetry.

69 Sc. celant. Pyrenes retains the termination of the Greek gen. sing.

72 Diana: the *i* is here long; in Augustan poetry a short *i* is regular, but the older quantity is not unknown (e.g., Virg. *Aen.* 1.499 and Ov. *Met.* 8.353) so S. probably felt it was a straightforward alternative.

73 numina ‘divine favour’ (*OLD* s.v. 3b).

74 tulit: the perfect tense throughout this section generalizes: what was true of the past is still true and will always be so (hence it is sometimes called the gnomic perfect because of its use in proverbs); see G-L 242n., and cf. 132, 772, 985 and 1134–5. Poets may use this perfect for metrical reasons (249n.); here the short syllables are welcome.

75–6 < Hor. *C.* 1.1.28 *seu rupit teretes Marsus aper plagas*.

79 casas conveys a sense of rustic simplicity.

80 A crisp alliteration ends the hymn. At 52 the successful huntsman was called *uictor* and that permits the novel extension of meaning for *triumpho* here.

81 fauet, the conjecture of Delrius, is to be preferred to *faue* (ω); it is more pointed to draw attention first to the assurance of divine favour and then to give the grounds for it; cf. *Med.* 840–1 *uota tenentur: ter latratus | audax Hecate dedit* and 423 below.

arguti ‘clangorous’, used only here of hounds, describes their high-pitched baying.

85–273 SCENE 2

Hippolytus has gone off to the hunt at 83–4. He will return at 424, presumably to thank Diana, as in the opening scene of Euripides’ extant *Hippolytus*. This second scene – in itself an unusual division in the first act of a Senecan tragedy – has the additional unusual function of starting the dramatic action, which typically begins after the first choral interlude. The organization of the scene, however, is not uncharacteristic of S.: the protagonist takes up a position which a subordinate character, either a *nutrix* or a *satelles*, aims in vain to alter (the pattern is discussed by Tarrant on *Ag.*, p. 192).

Phaedra, giving no reason for her appearance and talking to no one in particular (it would seem), first sets out her grievances (85–98) in a rhetorical speech for the prosecution, skilfully designed to arouse sympathy for herself and to justify her estrangement from a vagabond immoralist (there was probably a similar speech in Euripides’ first

Hippolytos, see Barrett fr. B). She then reveals her inner disquiet (99–109). She names no precise cause, but her reference to the desire to hunt (110–11) starts a new train of thought and she finally acknowledges that she is in love. She does not identify the object of her longing, but the earlier reference to hunting amid woods points in only one direction (112–14). This love she characterizes as an inherited misfortune, inflicted by the hatred of Venus (115–28). The speech is therefore organized in a climactic order: from *dolor* through *amor* to *nefas*. Phaedra does nothing to resist her passion, nor does she hint at a past struggle (and in this she is related to the Clytemnestra of S.'s *Agamemnon*, esp. 109–13); she simply gives a mythological aetiology. S. is particularly fond of allusive reference to myth, and so Phaedra's account assumes an audience which knows who were 'Theseus' previous wives (92), who his companion in Hades was (94), and why they were there (95). This is a speech in the Ovidian tradition of pathos and wit.

85 The apostrophe to Crete, Phaedra's homeland, aims at grandeur as the juxtaposed epithets, *magna* and *uasti* (Canter (1925) 173), and the extended descriptive lines, 86–8, indicate. Cretan sea-power was attested by Thucydides, 1.4 (cf. Ov. *Her.* 4.157). A similar phrase is found at *Tro.* 819 *maris uasti domitrix lolcos* (an allusion to the fact that the Argonautic expedition began there), and at *Med.* 4 *profundi saeue dominator maris* (cf. 1159). S. readily coins words with the suffix in *-trix* (Costa on *Med.* 266).

86 cuius: take with *rates*.

87–8 quidquid ... sinit 'whatever sea Nereus allows to be navigable by ships, right up to Syria'. The text is offered in an emended form *exempli gratia*. Attempts to extort sense from *secat* (ω) are too tortuous to be credible; *quidquid* probably refers to the sea, and it is absurd to say that Nereus cuts himself. For the construction cf. 824. (Professor Kenney proposes *regit*.)

Assyria ... tellure: Assyria had no coast on the Mediterranean, but poets commonly confused it with Syria, and the names are practically synonymous. Catullus first used *Assyrius* in 66.12, his translation of Callimachus; S. uses it, to the exclusion of *Syrius* or *Syrus*, as if it meant 'Phoenician', and so at *Phoen.* 124–5 *Assyrio ... regi* refers to Cadmus. *Assyria tellus* 'Assyria' exemplifies a useful periphrasis which may have been devised by Tibullus (1.7.57 *Tuscula tellus*) or Virgil (e.g., *Aen.* 1.34

Siculae telluris 'Sicily', 6.23 *Cnosia tellus*, 7.85 *Oenotria tellus*); it is very common in Ovid (e.g., *Met.* 1.515 *Delphica tellus*, 2.569 *Phocaica tellus*, 11.269 *Trachinia tellus*) and in S. (e.g., *H.F.* 20 *Thebana tellus*, 662 *Spartana tellus*, *Med.* 240 *Pelasga tellus*, *Thy.* 185 *Argolica tellus* and 906 below). See *OLD* s.v. 5.

89 Phaedra was married to Theseus, despite his abandoning Ariadne and slaying the Minotaur, as a guarantee of goodwill between Athens and Crete, according to the first-century B.C. historian Diodorus Siculus (4.62; Herter 1133). Because of what Theseus has done his household is hateful, *inuisos*, to her.

90–1 in malis lacrimisque: an example of the figure called syllepsis, in which a single word seems to be in the same syntactical relation to (two) others, but in fact is not; here *in malis* is local, but *in lacrimis* is modal. (Ovid is especially fond of this device; cf. 1101–2 and 1178nn.)

91 profugus: another grievance: Theseus has abandoned her. (His absence with Pirithous was used by Sophocles in his *Phaedra* and by Ovid in *Her.* 4.109–10; in the extant *Hippolytus* of Euripides, Theseus is away on an unexplained sacred embassy.) *profugus* can refer, as at 929, 1000, to voluntary absence.

92 This characteristically witty line embodies a number of S.'s favourite ploys. First, there is a mythological allusion veiled in *nuptae*, and the audience is expected to recall that Ariadne, an earlier 'wife', was also abandoned. Secondly, there is the sarcasm of *praestat fidem*; it is similar to *Ag.* 159 *praestat matri fidem*, where Clytemnestra ironically reproaches her husband for contriving the death of Iphigenia (Canter (1925) 137–8). Thirdly, the formula *quam solet* introduces a declamatory color: two allegedly similar events are regarded as habitual; cf. *H.F.* 1342–3 *illu te, Alcide, uocat | facere innocentes terra quae superos solet*, where only the purification of Mars is referred to, and 781 below. Similar formulae are found with *semper* and *numquam* (1164 and 1207). The exaggeration was overworked (see Leo, *Obs.* 149–51, Tarrant on *Ag.* 177, Fantham on *Tro.* 164 and D. Armstrong in *C.Q.n.s.* 32 (1982) 239–40).

93 inuii retro is not idle embellishment, for Phaedra will found her hopes on the fact that those who go to Hades do not return; cf. 219–21 and 625–7.

lacus was first used by Virgil of the waters of the Underworld at *Aen.* 6.393 (*OLD* s.v. 1c and cf. 1179).

94 miles ‘henchman’ (*TLL* viii 942.78–943.1).

audacis proci = Pirithous by the figure antonomasia (54n.).

95 reuulsam is somewhat abrupt without a noun, e.g., *coniugem*, to act as object to the verb (cf. *Tro.* 1003 *abreptam* [sc. *Polyxenam*] *trahit*). Attempts to supply an object by emendation or by supposing the loss of a line are unconvincing and the reference to Proserpina seems clear enough. *reuulsam abstrahat* ‘that he might tear her from the throne and carry her off’ exemplifies a useful idiom in which the action of one verb is expressed participially as the object of another (so Austin on Virg. *Aen.* 6.8 *inuentaque flumina monstrat*); cf. 110, 541, 622 and 844 (*reuulsum ... abstraheret*).

96 pergit ‘carries on being ...’, ‘continues’ (not ‘hurries on’); once again S. alludes to myth, here to a previous attempted rape by Theseus and Pirithous of the child Helen.

furoris socius recalls the remark of Hercules in *H.F.* 1336 *sceleris alieni arbiter* ‘onlooker at another’s crime’; *furor* refers specifically to erotic passion (*OLD* s.v. 3 and cf. 178).

haud is characteristic of poetry, especially epic; in prose the historians favour it, but S. avoids it in his philosophical writing (Wackernagel ii 256).

97 stupra is a word not usually found in the higher genres of verse; Ovid, however, used it in his epic, perhaps for shock value. Reference to a supposed homosexual attachment of the friends (Tarrant on *Ag.* 1009) is unlikely (244n. and Herter 1192.26–9).

98 Hippolyti pater ‘the father of an Hippolytus’; the proper name is used as if of a class of persons. S., unlike Euripides, takes the chastity of Hippolytus for granted. The name is none the less effectively deployed at this stage in Phaedra’s complaint; nowhere else in the speech does she name him, and as soon as she has done so she passes to a description of her undefined misery.

99 incubat is a favourite word of S., especially in a figurative sense, e.g., 268, *Epist.* 94.74 *quae illos graues aliis reddit grauior ipsis felicitas incubat*.

100 quies nocturna ... altus sopor: a distinction without a difference, much affected by S.; cf. 731 and an extended example at 1161–3 (Tarrant on *Ag.* 724).

102 Aetnaeo: Etna is a fertile source of similes: *H.F.* 105–6, *Med.* 409–10, *Thy.* 582–3 (Canter (1925) 80–1); S. had a keen interest in the volcano (*Epist.* 79 and *N.Q.* 2.30.1).

103 Palladis: Athene is a weaver in the *Iliad* (5.735, 14.78), and a later title, Ergane, attests her supervision of the loom.

uacant 'are idle' (cf. 680); the inability of a woman to keep her lovelorn mind on her work is an ancient symptom: cf. Sappho, fr. 102 L–P, Hor. *C.* 3.12.4–6, [Virg.] *Ciris* 179 *non Libyco molles plauduntur pectine telae*.

105 uotiuus hints that Phaedra ought to be praying for Theseus' safe return.

106 Phaedra's inability to share in the Eleusinian festivities is a reference to Euripides and Ovid: at *Hipp.* 24–8 and *Her.* 4.67 they had described how she first saw Hippolytus there and fell in love with him. (It was an erotic motif of New Comedy that lovers first met at festivals; the theme is developed in the story of Acontius and Cydippe as told by Callimachus, *Aetia* 3, fr. 67–75 Pf., and Ov. *Her.* 21.77–104.)

choris: Cf. *Oed.* 446 *Nereidumque choris*; the pl. is not metrically necessary.

107 iactare ... faces: torch-throwing was a feature of the Eleusinian rite, as was the silence of the initiates: see N. J. Richardson on the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (1974) pp. 165, 171.

conscias 'privy to', since the torches are used at undivulged rites; cf. Tibull. 1.7.48 *occultis conscia cista sacris*.

108 nec ... aut: *nec* connects *adire* with the preceding infinitives, *aut* connects the two instrumental ablatives, *precibus* and *ritu*.

castis ... pio: the epithets are not decorative, but suggest that Phaedra's malaise is discreditable.

109 adiudicatae: an allusion to the contest between Poseidon and Athene for Attica (Herod. 8.55). The story was told by Ovid at *Met.* 6.70–82 and it was represented in the west pediment of the Parthenon. Poseidon caused a salt spring to flow, Athene produced the olive, each in evidence of a claim to prior possession of Athens.

110 iuuat begins its sentence, without a connective, to sharpen the contrast between the things Phaedra does not want (*non libet*) and her preferred pursuits; S. favours this stylistic device (cf. 31–32n.). Phaedra's choice of activity hints at her real *dolor*, love for Hippolytus, as she will go on to discover (112–4); this hint is also found in Eur. *Hipp.* 207 and, less relevantly, in Ov. *Her.* 4.38.

111 rigida molli: 21n.

gaesa: Virgil introduced this Gallic loan-word to Latin verse at *Aen.* 8.662; S. extends its use from warfare to hunting.

112 anime: as if surprised at the turn her thoughts have taken, Phaedra aims to discover her true feelings. (Senecan characters are given to questioning themselves in this way (Canter (1925) 142); see Tarrant on *Ag.* 108f., pp. 194–5.) *furens* points to erotic madness (cf. 96n.).

113 fatale ... matris ... malum: cf. 698; that guilt or at any rate a propensity to crime is hereditary is a motif in other plays, notably *Oed.* and *Thy.*, but as Tarrant observes on *Ag.* 906f. it is a rhetorical ploy found in Cicero and Ovid, e.g., *Met.* 1.162 *scires e sanguine natos* (said of the Giants' blood as the seed of men). That Phaedra's blood is somehow tainted with unnatural desires is hinted at by Eur. *Hipp.* 343 'it was then not just recently that our trouble began' and Ov. *Her.* 4.55.

matris: Pasiphae. The alliterative line is a reminiscence of Virg. *Aen.* 4.23 *agnosco ueteris uestigia flammae*, but it is designed to puzzle: what connects their love-affairs with woods (*saltus, silvis*)? The answer, for the learned audience, is provided by recollection of either Virg. *Ecl.* 6.56, where Pasiphae says '*Dictaeae Nymphae, nemorum iam claudite saltus*', or of Ov. *A.A.* 1.311 *in nemus et saltus ... regina (= Pasiphae) ... fertur*.

114 peccare: of sexual backsliding, cf. 141 (*OLD* s.v. 3b).

115–19 Phaedra's pitying address to her mother is similar to Eur. *Hipp.* 337; here she sets about explaining why Pasiphae was to be pitied: her beloved was a brute. But it suddenly occurs to Phaedra at 119 that he was a brute with a heart after all and so, by a paradoxical contrast, her own passion for a man like Hippolytus is less likely to be satisfied.

116 correpta: much favoured by Ovid to describe those overcome by love or desire; cf. 665 (*OLD* s.v. *corripio* 5b).

efferrum: bulls are naturally savage; it is unlikely that S. hints at the story that the bull loved by Pasiphae was maddened by Poseidon (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.1.4).

117 toruus: a standing epithet of cattle (303, 1063); it is chiefly poetic, a synonym of *ferox* (M. Leumann, *Glotta* 21 (1933) 198–9) and is appropriate to their large eyes. Propertius too called Pasiphae's bull *toruus* (2.32.58; cf. *Anth. Lat.* 415.50R).

118 adulter of Pasiphae's bull is owed to Ov. *A.A.* 1.295 and 304 *ille tuus ... adulter*; at *A.A.* 1.326 he was also called *dux gregis*, a phrase recalled here.

119 amabat aliquid: Farnaby (1613) alone has seen that the phrase depends for its elucidation upon our recalling what Virgil's Pasiphae says at *Ecl.* 6.55: *aut aliquam [sc. uaccam] in magno sequitur grege;*

what the bull loves is not the woman but one of his own kind. That is more than can be said of Hippolytus. (Once again S. takes the young man's aversion for granted.)

aliquid 'something'; cf. Prop. 2.22.18 *ni fortuna aliquid semper amare dedit*.

119–20 quis ... queat?: 44n. S. here adapts Ov. *Her.* 4.165–6.

meas miserae: the possessive gen. is commonly combined with a possessive pronoun in a different case; the idiom is found in Greek (e.g., Soph. *O.C.* 334), and Ovid especially favours it (H–S 61). *miser*, in erotic contexts, indicates less that the passion is hopeless than that it is unreasonably powerful (of course, it may be hopeless as well); see A. W. Allen, *I.C.S.* 11 (1950) 257 and *TLL* viii 1103.18–31.

120 Another point in Pasiphae's favour was that she had a master-craftsman, Daedalus, to help assuage (*OLD* s.v. *iuuare* 3b) her passion by constructing a wooden cow to hide in.

121 remeet: a mythological riddle lurks behind this reference to Daedalus' return. After fleeing Crete he went to Cumae in Italy (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.14–17) and then to Sicily; he could not return to Athens because he had engineered the death of Perdix, as related by Ov. *Met.* 8.236–59. The notion that the return of Daedalus would not help matters is borrowed from Ov. *Met.* 9.742–3 where Iphis, a girl disguised as a boy, complains that even Daedalus could not help to transform her into a real boy so that she could marry Ianthe, her betrothed.

Mopsopia refers to a mythical Attic king, Mopsopos, first named in Callim. fr. 709 Pf.; the adj. formed from his name means 'Athenian' and is common in Ovid (Bömer on *Met.* 5.661).

123 promittet: the mixed condition (subj. in the protasis, fut. indic. in the apodosis) may be owed to recollection of the passage in Ov. *Met.* 9.742–3 just referred to: *ipse licet reuolet ... quid faciet?* Here too the protasis has a concessive overtone: 'although he should return ...' The construction is discussed by H. C. Nutting in *Univ. Calif. Publ. Class. Philol.* 8 (1926) 190–4, 216.

124 Pasiphae's father was the Sun, who told Hephaestus of Aphrodite's affair with Ares (Hom. *Od.* 8.270–1). Her revenge was directed at his daughter (so first Sosicrates *Frag. Gr. hist.* 461F 6, then Ov. *Her.* 4.53–4).

125 nos picks up *noster* (114): all the women suffer.

127 Minois 'daughter of Minos' is borrowed by Catullus at 64.60

from Callim. fr. 110.59 Pf.; it becomes common then in poetry (Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 8.174). Here it includes Phaedra's sister, Ariadne, who helped her lover, Theseus, kill her half-brother, the Minotaur. The shared guilt of all 'Minos' womenfolk' is noted by Ovid at *Her.* 4.61–2.

128 nefas, the final word of Phaedra's speech, would be more emphatic if it had not been anticipated by *nefandis* in the previous line.

129–273 It did not seem that Phaedra was addressing anyone but herself. Since, however, a lady was rarely unattended in public it is not so surprising that Phaedra's Nurse was with her all along. She has heard her mistress' speech and replies. Such a scene between *domina* and *nutrix* is not unusual in S.; there is one in *Ag.* 108–225 and a very similar one in *Med.* 116–77: there too the mistress speaks first, and the Nurse aims to dissuade her from a course of action; there follows a brisker exchange leading to stichomythia and the even livelier antilabe, and then the situation is resolved with the mistress still bent on her destructive course. The present speech of dissuasion gives a glimpse of S.'s imitative technique. Ovid composed a work to help us avoid love, *Remedia amoris*; S. borrows from it some arguments for the Nurse to use with Phaedra.

129 The opening address helps to mark the change of speaker; but *Thesea coniunx* recalls Phaedra to her wifely duties.

progenies Iouis: the reference to her lineage is similar to *Med.* 179 *Colchi noxium Aeetae genus* and *Ag.* 125 *inclitum Ledaee genus*; Phaedra's father, Minos, was sired by Jupiter out of Europa.

130 nefanda casto: 21n.

131 neue 'and ... not' introduces a prohibition after a positive command, a construction favoured in verse (*OLD* s.v. 2c and K–S 1 193); Ovid may have been the first to use an imperative with *neue* rather than a jussive subjunctive.

dirae: the word is used of an emotion the strength of which is incomprehensible and thus frightening to the beholder (Tarrant on *Ag.* 590); the power of the word flows from its application above all to evil omens (*OLD* s.v. 1).

132 in primo obstitit: < Ov. *Rem.* 80 *in primo limine siste pedem* (both are proverbial; Otto 287–8 s.v. *principium*). For the tense of the verb see 74n.

134 qui 'whoever' picks up *quisquis* (132); the idiom is illustrated by Housman on Manil. 3.103 with addenda (cf. 458). Again the sentiment is Ovidian, *Rem.* 95 *amor reperit alimenta morando*.

dulce ... malum = Ov. *Am.* 2.9.26.

135 < Ov. *Rem.* 90-1 *subtrahe colla iugo ... sero medicina paratur*. The image of love's yoke suggests submission to the Latin reader, the bonding of lovers to the Greek (N-H on Hor. *C.* 1.33.11).

136-7 The Nurse's cautious sentiment is echoed by Medea's appeal to Creon (*Med.* 203-6); as a courtier S. here speaks from his own experience, as appears from *Ben.* 6.30.4-5 where he deplores the unwillingness of friends to advise the great honestly.

fugit 'escape my notice' (*OLD* s.v. 13b).

ueri 'right, proper' (*OLD* s.v. 9).

137 flecti: cf. *Ben.* 6.30.5 *flectique non minus existimant turpe quam uinci*.

139 libertas suggests death as liberator. S. did not invent this notion, which is implicit in the closing lines of Hor. *Epist.* 1.16 and is also found before him in a declaimer of Augustan date (*TLL* VII 2.1315.56-60); he often exploits it: *Prou.* 2.10, *Ira* 3.15.4, *Epist.* 12.10, 70.14, 90.20, *Tro.* 144-64 (Tarrant on *Ag.* 591 *libera mors*). The notion was plainly attractive to those living under a despot (however benevolent). Cf. Shakespeare *Antony and Cleopatra* V.ii.233-6 'Here is a rural fellow ... he brings you figs. :: ... he brings me liberty.'

140-1 primum ... secundus: an Ovidian formulation, cf. *Met.* 9.618-19 *nam primum ... non coepisse fuit, coepta expugnare secundum est*.

141 pudor est secundus: here the Nurse begins to waver (as Nurses will in drama) and to hold out a hope. (But the hope was empty, as Ovid pointed out in a youthful declamation preserved by Sen. *Contr.* 2.2.10 *facilius in amore finem inpetres quam modum*.) A similar phrase is found in *Ben.* 5.25.4 *moneri uelle ac posse secunda uirtus est* (*OLD* s.v. *secundus* 10); for *nosse ... modum* ('limit') cf. *Epist.* 95.30 *non auaritia, non crudelitas modum nouit*.

142-3 The Nurse's questions and assertions are designed to lead up to a sharply phrased moral truth at 144.

143 monstro refers to Pasiphae's coupling with the bull, a monstrous act (*OLD* s.v. 5).

144 'For monstrous behaviour one can put down to destiny, but crime to character.' S.'s view is expressed in *Epist.* 36.6 *in mores fortuna ius non habet*. The formation of character depends on the individual, who is independent of fate or luck; deliberate crime is due to bad character; cf. *Oed.* 1019 *nemo fit fato nocens* (Jocasta to Oedipus). Pasiphae was driven to passion either by Venus or Neptune (cf. her defence in Euripides'

Cretans, *Noua fragmenta Euripidea*, ed. C. Austin (1968) fr. 82.9), but Phaedra has no such plea.

fato moribus: juxtaposition sharpens contrast.

imputes ‘ascribe’ (*OLD* s.v. 2); the second pers. sing. of the pres. subj. is impersonal, ‘one’ (G–L 263.2).

145 supera, for one in the Underworld, is the earth, not heaven; cf. 1150 (*OLD* s.v. 2).

146 credis: the Nurse goes on to repeat the verb (147, 152, 157) to stress how groundless the beliefs are.

147 erras: the strong pause after the verb isolates it powerfully at the end of its clause and at the head of a line.

148 Thesea: for the prosody see Introduction p. 43.

ferre ... Styga ‘endure the Underworld’ (*OLD* s.v. *fero* 26 or 19); like Acheron (1200n.) and Phlegethon (848n.), Styx came to be used by synecdoche for the Underworld as a whole.

149–58 It was the duty of male relatives to punish errant women in the family (Tacitus cites a case at *Ann.* 2.50.3). The custom allows the Nurse to list, as in *Ov. Her.* 4.157–60, those who might punish Phaedra; each individual is given a descriptive phrase which hints both at his reasons for prosecuting a sinner and at his identity (Canter (1925) 134–6).

149 quid ille: the sentence is elliptical, like the English idiom ‘what about ...?’; see *OLD* s.v. *quis* 12b (esp. transitional, introducing a further item in an enumeration) and *Ag.* 701 *quid illa felix turba fraterni gregis?*

regno premit: a new phrase formed on the model of Virg. *Aen.* 7.737–8 *dicione premebat ... populos* and *Aen.* 10.53–4.

150 populis ... centenis: Crete’s hundred cities (Hom. *Il.* 2.649) challenged Latin poets to invent varied expressions: Virg. *Aen.* 3.106 *centum urbes ... magnas*, Hor. *C.* 3.27.33–4 *centum ... potentem | oppidis Creten*, *Ov. A.A.* 1.297 *centum quae sustinet urbes*, *Her.* 10.67 *Crete centum digesta per urbes*, *Met.* 10.667 *centum Cretaeas urbes* and 13.707–8; S. used *populi* as an alternative at *H.F.* 230 also. *centenis*, the distributive, is commonly used for the cardinal number in poetry (so 943 and 1214); Virgil seems to have shown the way (e.g., *Aen.* 10.565; see Fordyce on *Aen.* 7.638).

reddit iura ‘administers justice’ (*OLD* s.v. *reddo* 14).

151 Minos’ love of justice, the Nurse maintains, will force him to

prosecute Phaedra's crime. It may be that S. here hints at the situation in Euripides' *Cretans*, when Pasiphae sought to hide her guilty love but Minos insisted on revelations (*Noua fragmenta Euripidea*, ed. C. Austin (1968) fr. 82. 27–33).

152 credamus: the first pers. pl. puts the Nurse on her mistress' side.

154 rebus 'the world', as at Ov. *Met.* 2.395 *tenebras inducere rebus* (*OLD* s.v. 4). The Nurse hints at the Sun's propensity for talking about what his light discovers (cf. 124n.).

156 corusca ... manu is a neat adaptation of Virg. *Geor.* 1.328 *corusca dextra*.

Aetnaeum: Callimachus was apparently the first to locate Vulcan's forge in Etna (Pfeiffer on fr. 115.111sq.) and Virgil followed suit (*Geor.* 4.173; cf. 1.472); this was promptly taken up by Propertius (3.17.21, *Aetnaeum fulmen*) and Ovid (*A.A.* 3.490). The local detail is therefore a venerable poetic tradition by S.'s day (cf. 190).

157 sator is also found at *Oed.* 1028–9 in the context of hurling thunderbolts; the word has an impressive tone.

158 omnia refers back to *rebus* (154) and *mundum* (155); Phaedra's grandfathers are all-pervasive; cf. Ov. *Her.* 12.78 *cuncta uidentis aui* (= the Sun, Medea's grandfather).

159 ut 'supposing' (*OLD* s.v. 35b).

160 coitus was first given its sexual meaning by Ovid (Bömer on *Met.* 7.709).

161 Cf. *Epist.* 97.13 *potest nocenti contingere ut lateat, latendi fides non potest* and 105.8 *nocens habuit aliquando latendi fortunam, numquam fiduciam*.

162–3 The pangs of a guilty conscience were a theme favoured as much by rhetoricians as by moralists (see Tarrant on *Ag.* 266).

163 semet: the suffix *-met* intensifies the pronoun. S. uses it often (257, 480, 588, 1222, 1228; Costa on *Med.* 228); indeed it is commoner in poetry than is sometimes supposed (G. B. A. Fletcher, *Hermes* 94 (1966) 254–6).

164 aliqua 'a woman'. For the sentiment cf. *Epist.* 105.8 *tutum aliqua res in mala conscientia praestat nulla securum* (*Epist.* 97.13 has been supplemented along similar lines by Hense).

165 compesce ... flammis: the Nurse now seeks to restrain Phaedra's impulse, a typical situation (Tarrant on *Ag.* 203). The phrase is owed to Ov. *Her.* 16.231 *saepe mero uolui flammam compescere*.

166–8 It was a common belief among some ancient moralists that barbarians were in some respects less depraved than civilized (i.e., Graeco-Roman) peoples. The model for S. here may be Hor. *C.* 3.24.9–24 where Scythians and Getae are alike praised for their way of life. There is a similar reproach upon base behaviour in *Tro.* 1104–6 *quis Colchus hoc, quis sedis incertae Scythia commisit* . . . (Canter (1925) 81).

168 inhospitalis: at *Ep.* 1.12 and *C.* 1.22.6–7 Horace spoke of the *inhospitalem Caucasum*, a phrase reused by S. at *Med.* 43 and *Thy.* 1048; here he alters the mountain range to southern Asia Minor. The place is put for its inhabitants, a common poetic device (cf. *Adnot. super Lucanum* ed. I. Endt (1909) 3.175 *ubique autem pro fluminibus aut montibus incolas eorum debemus accipere*).

169 castifica is first found here; *-ficus* formations were common in earlier Roman tragedy and S. has a number in his own plays (Billerbeck (1988) 38–40). Since, however, his style is not noticeably archaic it has been suggested that the Augustan tragedians Varius and Ovid may have perpetuated the forms (so F. Skutsch in *Glotta* 2 (1910) 160–1 = *Kleine Schriften* (1914, rpr. 1967) 386).

170 The alliteration punches home the message. Like Phaedra, the Nurse is now engulfed in recollection of Pasiphae as she makes her final appeal.

171 miscere is commonly used of incestuous relations, e.g. *Ag.* 36 *gnatis nepotes miscui* (Thyestes refers to his children by his daughter).

gnati: once again S. takes the mythical basis of his story for granted; Phaedra had not said she loved Hippolytus though she hinted at that when she referred to a desire to hunt.

172 Declaimers sometimes indulged in mild obscenity (Bonner 63–4) and the themes chosen by S. – he was the first to adapt the myths of Oedipus and Phaedra – naturally encouraged such references to sexual aberrations within the family (cf. 928–9).

capere ‘have room for’ (*OLD* s.v. 25), rather than ‘conceive’; cf. Jocasta’s reference at *Oed.* 1039 to her womb as *capax* because it held both her husband and his sons. A child of Phaedra and Hippolytus would be both stepson and grandson to Theseus (hence *confusam*).

173 perge introduces an ironical command as at *H.F.* 75 *perge et magna meditantem opprime*.

uerte naturam: cf. *Oed.* 371 *natura uersa est*, *Ag.* 34 *uersa natura est retro*.

174 Since Theseus slew the Minotaur, Phaedra’s half-brother, the

Labyrinth (*aula*) has stood empty; the child of Phaedra and Hippolytus might be a new tenant. The same conceit is found both at *Phoen.* 121–2 where Oedipus asks to be put on the Sphinx's rock: *dira ne sedes uacet, monstrum repone maius* and at *H.F.* 1207–8 *cur Promethei uacant | scopuli?* (Hercules proposes to fill it himself).

176 cedet 'shall fail to exercise' governs the abl. (*OLD* s.v. 12).

177 Cressa 'a Cretan woman'; the reference may not extend beyond Pasiphae and her daughters, but S. could well have in mind the story of Aerope, whom Ovid called *Cressa* at *A.A.* 1.317. She was married to Atreus but loved his brother Thyestes; in due course he was fed his own children by Atreus as punishment for the adultery and the Sun recoiled in horror. As Ovid relates the tale, if she had not loved Thyestes, the Sun would have stuck to his course (hence 176 is applicable to Aerope's love affair as well).

177–94 Phaedra replies to the Nurse's appeal, offering a narrative analysis of her emotional state; its formulation verges on the schematic when similar passages are compared (Tarrant on *Ag.* 132ff., and C. Gill, 'Two monologues of self-division' in M. Whitby, P. Hardie, M. Whitby, edd., *Homo Viator* (1987) 33–4). Euripides had frequently dramatized emotional dilemmas (e.g., *Hipp.* 380–3, *Med.* 1078–80, *Chrysippus* fr. 836N) and Ovid's heroines follow that tradition.

178 furor: 96n.

178–9 sequi peiora recalls Ovid's neat encapsulation of the dilemma at *Met.* 7.19–21 *aliudque cupido, | mens aliud suadet. uideo meliora proboque: | deteriora sequor.*

180 remeat 'tries to come back'; the present tense describes a process which may not prove successful, hence its occasional 'conative' function.

181–3 The extended simile is a peculiarity of Senecan tragedy (Canter (1925) 99–105, Fantham (1982) 43, Tarrant on *Thy.* 497–503, Zwierlein (1966) 118 n. 17) probably because S. preferred Virgil and Ovid to drama (it has been noticed that the numerous verse quotations in his prose works are rarely from plays). This simile is unusual in that the speaker uses it of herself; it is closely modelled on Virg. *Geor.* 1.201–3.

182 in uanum: the preposition and substantival adj. represent the adverb which regularly accompanies *cedere* when it has the sense 'turn out' (Summers on *Epist.* 15.2, 28.2 and *OLD* s.v. 7 but the Ciceronian example should be deleted).

183 prono ... uado = *prono ... amni* at Virg. *Geor.* 1.203 (but cf. Ov. *Am.* 2.4.8 *auferor, ut rapida concita puppis aqua*); *uadum* is used in poetry of a river's waters, e.g., 507 and *H.F.* 680 *placido quieta labitur Lethe uado* (*OLD* s.v. 4).

184 ratio: for the prosody see Introduction p. 43.

186 uolucer was first used of Cupid by Ovid (Bömer on *Met.* 9.482).

187–94 The list aims to demonstrate that not even gods are proof against Love, an argument adduced by the Nurse in Eur. *Hipp.* 453 and in Sophocles' *Phaedra*, fr. 684P. The list is not however arbitrary; as a woman Phaedra appeals to Love's power over males, an argument *a fortiori*. Moreover all the gods named are associated with fire or carry weapons and so might be expected to withstand Love's attack. The conceit is very clever, a rhetorical expansion of Ov. *Her.* 4.12 (the theme is illustrated by Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 1.464); it is a pity that S. returns so soon to the commonplace at 293–315.

187 flammis ... indomitis: < Ov. *Met.* 10.369–70 *igne ... indomito* (also of Love's fire).

188 faces refers of course to Love's torch, but firebrands were used in warfare (*OLD* s.v. *fax* 5) and so Mars ought to be able to repel them. Phaedra refers to his affair with Venus (124n.).

191 uersat 'stirs' (*OLD* s.v. 3); the sense is somewhat strained with *caminos* as object.

192 The theme of biter bit continues. S. has in mind Ovid's encounter between Apollo and Cupid at *Met.* 1.452–65.

193 certior recalls Ov. *Met.* 1.519–20 *certa quidem nostra est: nostra tamen una sagitta | certior*.

194 uolitat ... grauis: an oxymoron, pointed by the postponement of the unexpected epithet to the end of the line (and speech). The conceit that Love, for all his wings, is heavy is also found in Eubulus, fr. 41 Kock.

195–217 The Nurse returns to the attack (like the Nurse at *Ag.* 203–25) and denies Phaedra's premiss that Love is divine and uncontrollable. (The passage is imitated and put into S.'s mouth in *Oct.* 557–65.) The Nurse's approach is purely argumentative and has no reference to Phaedra's feelings. She employs the debater's technique of point by point rebuttal. Phaedra had spoken of Love's power (186), flight (186 and 194) and weapons (193); the Nurse mockingly picks up

these details (199, 200, 201). Her distinction between Love as a god and lust seems based on Ov. *Met.* 9.625–6 (Byblis speaks) *uel certe non hoc, qui plurimus urget et urit | pectora nostra, deo sed uicta libidine credar*; cf. the reply of Hecuba to Helen in Eur. *Tro.* 988 ‘your own heart [voûς] at the sight of him turned into Aphrodite’ (Introduction p. 24 n. 80).

196 quo = *ut eo*.

197 titulum: in *Breu. Vit.* 16.5 S. complains that poets fuel our sins with their stories: *quid aliud est uitia nostra incendere quam auctores illis inscribere deos?*; *inscribere* means ‘label’ and so these passages are close in sense.

198 scilicet enhances the irony of her statement.

199 Erycina: a cult title of Venus referring to her shrine on Mt Eryx in north-western Sicily. It first appears in the learned epos of Catullus (64.72), and Augustan poets readily take it up because Venus was ancestress of the Julian house.

200 tenera: as a youth or boy Love has delicate skin; Agathon calls him ‘tender’ at Plato, *Symp.* 195c.

molitur ‘propel’ (*OLD* s.v. 5a and Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 5.367).

201 minimus ‘youngest’ (*OLD* s.v. 4); Love’s youth is argued at Plato, *Symp.* 195a.

202 asciuit ‘has adopted’ (*OLD* s.v. *ascisco* 2).

203 Venerisque numen finxit ‘devised a godhead of passion’. The Nurse does not question Venus’ divinity (she had referred to her at 199), but uses her name by metonymy to refer to sexual activity (cf. 211, 237, 339, 462, 721 and *OLD* s.v. 4).

204 Having rejected Love’s divinity as a pretext, the Nurse pinpoints the true cause of love: prosperity. The theme was an old one, e.g., Eur. fr. 895 ‘the Cyprian is found in abundance, not in poverty’ (for two fragments of the first *Hippolytus* which might have a similar argument see Barrett 20 n. 4). Ovid had specifically cited Phaedra’s prosperity as a cause of her downfall at *Rem.* 743–4 *perdat opes Phaedra: parces, Neptune, nepoti | nec faciet pauidos taurus auitus equos*.

205 fluit ‘abound in’ (*OLD* s.v. 6d); the reference is often to abundant wealth (cf. *Tranq.* 9.2 *libido qua necesse est fluat*).

206 comes is often used of an accompanying state or emotion, e.g., *Thy.* 923–4 *comes exili | tristis egestas* (*OLD* s.v. 6b).

207 libido: passion in a general sense, as the succeeding list confirms. Moralists commonly denounce the luxury of the table and the

passion for exotic stuffs, e.g., Lucr. 4.1129–30 *et bene parta ... in pallam atque Alidensia Ciaeque uertunt* (of infatuated lovers' gifts); in the next line Lucretius refers to choice fabric (*eximia ueste*) used in the dining-room as hangings or coverings. The context suggests that this is what S. also has in mind (but cf. 307–8).

208 *sani moris*: descriptive gen.

209 *penates ... tenues*: cf. Prop. 4.1.128 *patris et in tenuis cogeris ipse lares*.

211 This line has its epithets and nouns disposed in one of the so-called 'golden' patterns: a b B A, with the verb in the middle (cf. 514, 936 and Canter (1925) 175).

212 *medium* 'remote from either extreme' (*OLD* s.v. 8); S. often refers to the happy lot of those in the middle rank of society (*Ag.* 103–4, *Thy.* 533–4).

213 *modica* 'modest wealth', i.e., people of moderate means, cf. *Oed.* 683 *laudare modica* (*OLD* s.v. 7). S. much affects the use of the neuter pl. to express abstract ideas (Summers (1910) lxi).

contra: the question is still governed by *cur* (211).

214 *fulti* 'relying on' (*TLL* vi 1.1505.6); the metaphorical colour is largely lost, cf. *Epist.* 33.7 *turpe est ... fulcire se notissimis ac paucissimis uocibus* and [Virg.] *Catal.* 3.1 *subnixum regno*.

215 The argument is clinched with a neat monostichic proverb. The Romans were fond of moral *sententiae* and the dramatists obliged by providing them (E. D. Rawson, '*Speciosa locis morataque recte*', in M. Whitby, P. Hardie, M. Whitby, edd., *Homo Viator* (1987) 79–88). A popular mime artist of the late republic, Publilius Syrus, larded his scripts with similar moral saws and enjoyed immense popularity among declaimers (Bonner 55, 138 and 165); S. himself praises Publilius at *Epist.* 8.8–9, and at 735 below adapts one of his lines. (Collections of one-line maxims were compiled in antiquity from Menander's comedies and Publilius' mimes.) S., it was noted above (181–3n.), is not much given to quoting from drama, but when he does the lines are usually of a proverbial or moral cast; it may therefore be supposed that when he set about composing dramas himself he deemed sententious lines a necessary element (Canter (1925) 85–99 and F. Kunz, '*Sentenzen in Senecas Tragödien*', Programm Wien-Neustadt 1897).

216 *solio* 'regal power', by the figure metonymy (cf. Hor. *C.* 2.2.17 *redditum Cyri solio Prahaten*).

217 **sceptra** too is used in the sense ‘regal power’, but the usage is much older than that of *solium* (Canter (1925) 132). The Nurse’s speech has now moved from moral outrage to mere prudence.

218 **reor**: Phaedra turns the Nurse’s closing admonition round; the power of her husband is, she believes, nothing compared to Love’s power over her: *Amoris* is placed emphatically to correct the Nurse’s last word, *uiri*; *in me* is closely attached to *regnum* (cf. Hor. C. 4.4.2 *regnum in auis uagas*, Prop. 3.10.18 *inque meum semper stent tua regna caput*).

219 **amplius** ‘again’, cf. Ben. 4.11.3 *nunquam amplius . . . reuersurus* (*OLD* s.v. 5b).

222 **ne crede**: ‘with the imperative *ne* was old-fashioned and popular . . . It was revived by [Catullus and] the Augustan poets and by their imitators, esp. S. in his tragedies, the intention being . . . to give a touch of the antique and solemn’ (Smith on Tibull. 1.1.67); it may be doubted however that S. found *ne* and the imperative solemn – he probably regarded it as ‘poetic diction’ (it occurs once in his prose, *Const. Sap.* 19.4 *ne repugnate*; see further Tarrant on *Ag.* 796).

223 **canis . . . Stygius**: Cerberus (cf. *H.F.* 783); 54n.

224 Another mythological riddle. The audience was expected not only to recall Theseus’ return out of the Labyrinth but also his difficult journey from Trozen to Athens, on which he encountered numerous obstacles (cf. 1169–70).

225 The sentiment is borrowed from Eur. *Hipp.* 462–3, but there it is spoken more plausibly by the Nurse.

226 The Nurse dashes the hope for clemency by referring to the murder of Hippolytus’ Amazon mother, Antiope, an act frequently alluded to in this play (Herter 1154.49–52).

227 **experta . . . manum**: cf. Prop. 2.15.18 *meas experiere manus*.

228 **puta** shows that the concession is purely rhetorical.

229–31 This is the first express reference to Hippolytus’ chastity. S. assumes that his abstinence is accompanied by truculence of manner towards women; this heightened colour makes his Hippolytus an unsympathetic figure.

229 **intractabilem**: a Virgilian word, used twice more of Hippolytus (271, 580).

230 **omne . . . nomen** ‘everything called woman’ (*OLD* s.v. 17b).

231 **annos** ‘youth’ as at 443 (*OLD* s.v. 6c).

232 **conubia**: at *Tro.* 901 the line ends with this word, which must

there be scanned — — 00; in the first metron such a scansion is not possible, so it seems likely that S. here treated the *i* as a consonant, viz. *conubja*. (Elsewhere the scansion of this word occasions debate: Kenney on *Lucr.* 3.776 and *TLL* iv 814.48–72.) Possibly S. here wrote *coniugia* as at *H.F.* 501 and *Med.* 144.

Amazonium: traditionally the Amazons did not marry, so Hippolytus is true to his race, *mutatis mutandis*.

233–5 Phaedra will become a huntress, Hippolytus her quarry; he is described as if he were a mountain deer which she pursues.

233 hunc: cf. *huius* 229; he need not be named, for the women understand each other.

haerentem ‘lingering’ as at *Plin. Epist.* 1.22.1 *in urbe haereo* (*OLD* s.v. 7).

236–7 The Nurse’s crushing reply is cast in the form of a tricolon crescendo.

236 mulcendum keeps up the notion that Hippolytus is like a wild animal that is to be tamed with caresses.

237 castos ... ritus: Diana the huntress was ever a virgin, and Hippolytus is her votary in two senses: he hunts and he is chaste.

non casta = *incesta*; cf. 274 *non miti* = *immiti* and 386; the periphrasis is metrically more convenient. The abl. seems to be instrumental (so *TLL* v 2.2114.59; Kunst (1924) proposed an abl. of exchange which is basically instrumental).

238 cuius odio: Hippolytus would have had cause to hate Phaedra if the prospect of marrying her prompted Theseus to kill Antiope (so *Plut. Thes.* 28). (But at 434 S. forgets himself, and Hippolytus is full of solicitude.)

239 persequitur: Hippolytus ‘harries’ (*OLD* s.v. 2c) all women, presumably with abuse; cf. *Eur. Hipp.* 664–8 where Hippolytus says that he will never stop uttering his hatred of women.

at: the conjecture of Heinsius and H. Fuchs (*Hermes* 70 (1935) 247–8) is preferable to the MS readings; *at* is also postponed at *Tro.* 1085 (cf. 14.807nn.)

The pace of the dialogue becomes more lively and the line is divided between two speakers. This device is called antilabe (Costa on *Med.* 157 and Canter (1925) 90–2). The type of exchange in which one character refers to the present (here the Nurse) whilst the other appeals to the past is found in *Med.* 168–9 and *Ag.* 791–4.

240 *ferus est*: the Nurse continues to attribute to Hippolytus a savage nature: he is like the game he pursues. This is continued at 272-3, but is dropped when Hippolytus actually speaks to his step-mother with courtesy at 630-3. (There is a similar inconsistency in the *Agamemnon*; at 587-8 Cassandra is described as raving but she is composed when she speaks at 659.)

amore . . . feros: Phaedra appeals allusively to her mother's success with the wild bull, a lesson she has learned (cf. *Ov. Her.* 4.165-6).

242 *patris memento*: Phaedra's promise to pursue Hippolytus over the sea, which Minos ruled, prompts the Nurse's warning that her father can follow her.

243 *genus* 'womankind', cf. 564 (*OLD* s.v. 46).

244 *nempe* ironically corrects the Nurse's proposition that Theseus will come back; Phaedra has already said that no one comes back from Hades (93-4, 219). Other interpretations are that Theseus, by aiding Pirithous in the rape of Pluto's wife, cannot condemn adultery, or that he and his friend are lovers, and so will not mind what Phaedra gets up to (cf. 97n.). (In the first *Hippolytus* of Euripides Phaedra justified her love for her stepson by pointing to her husband's lapses; see Barrett 18 fr. B.)

245 *mitis*: an allusion to a debated point of mythological *historia*. Why did Minos, lord of the sea, fail to pursue Theseus, who abducted his daughter? Apollonius of Rhodes at *Arg.* 3.1000 invented a reason, namely the allaying of Minos' anger (cf. H. Herter, *Rh. M.* 91 (1942) 228-37); Catullus adopted this version of the tale in his learned epos, 64.117, according to W. Clausen, *I.C.S.* 2 (1977) 219-21. S. places himself in this tradition by alluding to the mildness of Minos, who did nothing about Ariadne's affair.

246-7 Prudence has failed; the Nurse tries pathos. The appeal to white hairs and breast is Ovidian; at *Met.* 10.391 Myrrha's nurse pleads with her, *canosque suos et inania nudans pectora*. The remote source is *Hom. Il.* 22.789-80 where Hecuba tries to stop Hector from fighting Achilles by displaying her bosom. (Tacitus, however, relates that German women incited their men to battle with a similar gesture, *Germ.* 8.1.)

246 *senecta splendida*: 'gleaming (= white) with old age', a sort of causal abl. *senectae* (ω) is presumably seen as either a possessive or descriptive gen.; this yields very doubtful Latin, and so a conjectural emendation has been accepted into the text.

248 siste: in the sense of stopping an activity, the verb is Ovidian (*OLD* s.v. 8 and cf. 263), especially in the imperative; it is a way he devised of avoiding the cumbersome *noli* and the inf. for prohibitions.

249 Cf. *Epist.* 34.3 *pars magna bonitatis est uelle fieri bonum* and 71.36 *magna pars est profectus uelle proficere*. (These passages show that *fuit* here is a gnomic perfect chosen for metrical convenience; 74n.)

250 Cf. *H.F.* 1240 *non sic furore cessit extinctus pudor*, also a prelude to a suicide threat. Phaedra's change of heart is completely unexpected, but dramatically necessary, for it makes the Nurse co-operate (so Aegisthus overpersuades Clytemnestra at *Ag.* 304–5). S. is given to the sudden reversal of intention (Tarrant on *Ag.* 307); he is more interested in emotional states than in the heart's processes. Moreover the change of mind is here unmotivated; the Phaedra of Euripides is presented from the first as a modest woman shocked by her own feelings, but S.'s heroine never suggests that she has been through any inner debate or struggle with her emotions.

ingenue pudor: the words go commonly together, e.g., *Const. Sap.* 15.1 *quae excogitari pudore ingenue possunt* (see Shackleton Bailey 112). They refer to the delicacy of feeling which comes from birth and breeding (Fordyce on Catull. 61.79 *tardet ingenuus pudor*).

252 fama: the apostrophe is similar to Dido's at Virg. *Aen.* 4.27 *sed mihi uel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat | ... ante, Pudor, quam te uiolo*. The concern with reputation, found also in Ov. *Her.* 4.18 and 32, is traditionally Roman; *infamia*, loss of esteem, acted as a check upon degraded behaviour.

253 ratio 'plan of action' (*OLD* s.v. 10).

effugium: a favoured word, suggesting suicide at, e.g., *Ag.* 591 *cum pateat malis | effugium et miseros libera mors uocet*, *N.Q.* 6.1.6 *nullum malum sine effugio est*.

254 Both Andromache at *Tro.* 418 and Megara in *H.F.* 306 propose to join their husbands in death. S.'s own wife, Paulina, showed no less courage but was cheated by Nero's envy of a martyr's crown: not for the first time we catch a glimpse of S.'s own world in his plays (Tac. *Ann.* 15.63–4).

praeuertam 'I shall forestall' (*OLD* s.v. 3).

255 The Nurse seeks to dissuade Phaedra; there is a similar scene in Eur. *Hipp.* 473–5 but the colours here are heightened by *effrenae* and *impetus*. Once again the immediate model is probably Ovid; at *Met.*

10.425–30 (cf. 246–7n.) Myrrha's nurse, having failed to drive out the girl's passion, undertakes to abet her.

256 dignam: sc. *te* from the next line.

257 autumas: a hallmark of tragic diction, according to Quintilian, *Inst.* 8.3.26 (but it is found in comedy too). S. has the word in other plays, e.g., *Oed.* 765, and it may be that the Augustan tragedians had perpetuated it (cf. 169n.).

258 < Virg. *Aen.* 4.475–6 *decreuitque mori ... modumque | exigit*; cf. *Oed.* 1031–2 *mors placet. mortis uia quaeratur*.

259–60 There were three ways of committing suicide traditional for women, and the present list is one of many, e.g., Lucan 8.654–6 (E. Fraenkel, 'Selbstmordwege', in *Kleine Beiträge* 1 (1964) 465–7; Tarrant on *Ag.* 972ff.).

260 missa 'throwing myself', as at 1225 (*OLD* s.v. *mitto* 8b).

praeceps ... cadam: take together (1085, *Tro.* 1118, *Med.* 659); the verb can be used of a deliberate leap, as at *Tro.* 1118 (cf. *Tro.* 1102 *sponte desiluit*).

arce Palladia: the Acropolis at Athens (cf. 504). The whole line recalls Ov. *Met.* 8.250–1 *ex arce Mineruae | praecipitem misit*.

263 impetum 'impulse', an especially Ovidian meaning (518n.); it has been taken unnecessarily to have Stoic colour (Tarrant on *Ag.* 126); cf. *Med.* 157 *siste furialem impetum* and *Ag.* 203.

264 The line is not found in the A tradition and E transmits it unmetrically; the thought is a poor reworking of 265 and it interrupts the sequence of thought from *sinat perire* to *prohibere ... periturum*. For all these reasons it is deleted as an interpolation (Zwierlein (1986)).

265–6 Cf. 878. S. describes the many roads to suicide very movingly in *Epist.* 70.19–28.

266 ubi 'when', 'in a situation in which' (*OLD* s.v. 6).

qui is relative; *et* 'as well'.

261 proin: for the prosody see Introduction p. 43.

uindicem 'as avenger' predicative.

Gronovius transposed the line to follow 266, where it forms a logical deduction from the moral reflections of 265–6; Phaedra has framed a general rule which in 261 she applies to herself. In the MS tradition the line interrupts the sequence of deliberative questions and separates the catchword *praeceps* in 260 and 262 (Zwierlein (1966) 178–80; the transmitted order is defended by Billerbeck (1988) 125–6).

269 The Nurse shifts her moral position and reverts to Phaedra's

apostrophe at 252 pointing out that reputation is not founded on reality (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4.188 *tam ficti prauique tenax quam nuntia ueri*, Ov. *Met.* 9.139–40, both of *fama* (rumour)). The *sententia* is neat; alliteration and anastrophe (Canter (1925) 159) give it snap.

270 Reputation is more kindly (*melior*) to the less deserving (*peius merenti*) and less kind (*peior*) to the good; the play on the comparative forms is clever.

272 **iste** ‘this’, with no reference to the person addressed (*OLD* s.v. 4); the usage is common in Silver Latin.

labor est with the inf. is a generally poetic phrase since Catull. 55.13 *sed te iam ferre Herculi labos est* (*TLL* VII 2. 796.27–34, but add Livy 39.1.5).

273 The Nurse stresses Hippolytus’ savage character (*immitis* as at 231), but he will prove most polite to her and listen patiently to her appeal later on. With her undertaking the first act ends; she reappears immediately after the ode (Tarrant collects other examples of this linking device at *Ag.*, p. 333, n. 1).

CHORUS I

274–357 Now a Chorus, of undefined gender, appear for no given reason and sing of Love’s power, first in Sapphic hendecasyllables (274–324) and then in anapaestic dimeters (325–57). They do not say why they have chosen this theme, nor do they reveal how they have come to know about Phaedra’s erotic misery (358–9). In Attic tragedy, which aimed at some degree of plausible action, such explanations are usual: an audience wants to know how strangers became privy to a secret, or how news reaches someone who has not been present on stage (cf. 854 and 1154–5nn.).

S.’s technique however is much closer to that of narrative epic, which freely dispensed with such details (scholiasts had a term for the device: κατὰ τὸ σιωπώμενον; the writer silently assumes that the necessary transactions have taken place). The Chorus are given this topic, Love’s universal sway, because Phaedra had spoken of it (184–94); S. usually projects a leading theme of the first act into the first ode (Canter (1925) 29–31).

274 **non miti**: the cruel sea bears a cruel goddess (but the repeated epithet after 273 is disagreeable).

275 **geminus Cupido**: cf. Hor. *C.* 3.29.64 *geminus* . . . *Pollux*. Cicero,

distinguishing homonymous gods, lists three Cupids: one the son of Mercury and Diana (i), another of Mercury and Venus (ii), the third of Mars and Venus (iii) (this one is called Anteros, Love returned). Hence the two who call Venus mother are Cupid ii and Cupid iii (Anteros) in Cicero's list (*N.D.* 3.60). The phrase, found also at *Oed.* 500, is calqued upon Ov. *Fasti* 4.1 *geminorum mater amorum*; see A. Wlosok in *H.S.C.P.* 79 (1975) 165-79 and *Monumentum Chiloniense* Kieler Festschrift für E. Burck, ed. E. Lefèvre (1975) 514-39, n. 39. On the Hippolytus sarcophagus in the Campo Santo at Pisa two Cupids are at Phaedra's knees.

278 moderatur 'aim' (*TLL* VIII 1215.32-7; cf. *Epist.* 71.3 *moderari manu telum*).

279-80 The lines are omitted in the A tradition and were deleted as an interpolation by Bothe; they interrupt the image of Cupid wounding the lover and 279 is a doublet of 282.

281 frontem 'exposed surface' (*OLD* s.v. 9).

283 per orbem: this comprehensive phrase prompts an analytical list (285-90).

286 metas: the goal of a heavenly body, where it sets out on its return journey (*OLD* s.v. 3).

Hesperias: for the scansion see Introduction pp. 42-3.

287 si qua (sc. *ora*) does not imply doubt; it generalizes (Postgate on Lucan 8.160).

subiecta: the sixth and seventh syllables of the Sapphic hendecasyllable are short; here they are combined to form a single long as at *Ag.* 618 and 631.

288 Parrhasiae ... ursae: Callisto, an Arcadian companion of Diana, bore a son, Arcas, to Jupiter, Juno turned her into a bear, and Jupiter translated her to heaven as the Great Bear (cf. *H.F.* 6-7). *Parrhasius* is used loosely for Arcadian. Virgil brought it into Latin poetry (*Aen.* 8.344), and Ovid was very keen on it (he used it of Callisto at *Trist.* 2.190).

glacialis: nom. with *si qua* sc. *ora*.

289 patitur: 'leave, let be (in a certain condition)' with a predicate acc. (*OLD* s.v. 9); this region lets the nomads wander because it is all unencumbered steppe (cf. 167 *uagi campis*).

290 aestus 'passion', as at 362 (*OLD* s.v. 5a).

293 ignoto ... igne: an adaptation of Ov. *Am.* 2.1.6 *ignoto ... amore*.

295 falsis ‘assumed’ (*TLL* vi 192.45–56). The reference to gods transformed for love is bound to recall Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*. It makes the climax to the popular theme of love’s universal power (Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 1277–89); though the song could move straight on to 330 without loss of coherence, S. decorates his ode with a list of *exempla*.

296 Apollo ‘transformed’ himself from a god to a human slave for Admetus. The story is also alluded to by S. at *H.F.* 451 *pastor Pheraeos Delius pauit greges*. Originally Apollo’s service was punishment for killing the Cyclopes (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.10.4); a Hellenistic poet, Rhianus, characteristically for his age, turned this into an erotic motif (Williams on Callim. *Hymn* 2.49, pp. 49–50).

297–8 The exchange of lyre for reed-flute is a pretty conceit found in Lygdamus [Tibull.] 3.4.67–72:

tunc ego nec cithara poteram gaudere sonora
nec similes chordis reddere uoce sonos,
sed perlucenti cautum meditabar auena
ille ego Latonae filius atque Iouis.

299–308 Two amours of Jupiter are described allusively: Leda and the swan, Europa and the bull (this passage is imitated at *Oct.* 203–6).

300 caelum nebulasque ducit: if correct, the phrase seems to be a rendering of the Homeric epithet, ‘cloud-gatherer’; this involves a slight zeugma with *caelum* where we require the notion *agit* ‘drives round’.

301 ales ... alas: the chime appears to be intentional.

modo is answered by **nunc** (303), a correlation favoured by Ovid (*TLL* viii 1313.76).

302 uocem: acc. of respect with *dulcior*; Virgil introduced this construction for parts of the body, e.g., *Aen.* 1.320 *nuda genu*; (Horace uses it perhaps only once at *C.* 1.21.11–12; see H–S 37). The tradition that the swan sings at death is first found in Aesch. *Ag.* 1444; thereafter it became very popular (*RE*² s.v. *Schwan* II A 785).

304 uirginum: Europa’s companions, cf. Ov. *Met.* 2.845 *uirginibus Tyriis comitata*.

305 noua regna: since Jupiter’s realm was the sky, the sea, which was allotted to his brother Neptune, is unusual for him. The appositive phrase is placed parenthetically between the noun and its modifier, a pattern dear to the young Virgil (e.g. *Ecl.* 1.57 *raucae, tua cura, palumbes*).

He however used it sparingly in his epic; Ovid is addicted to it (Hollis on *Met.* 8.226 *odoratas, pennarum uincula, ceras*). The history of the pattern is traced by J. B. Solodow in *H.S.C.P.* 90 (1986) 129-58. Cf. 780 and 1105nn.

306 The conceit that the bull's hooves are oars is suggested in Moschus, *Europa* 143, but there the bull is said to walk upon the water rather than swim (line 114). The sing., *ungula*, is common in poetry for metrical reasons from the time of Ennius, cf. *Ann.* 431 Sk. *it eques et plausu caua concutit ungula terram*.

307 domuit: cf. *Med.* 21-3 *domituram freta . . . ratem* (*OLD* s.v. 5b).

308 rapina 'booty'; cf. *Prop.* 2.2.10 *Ischomache . . . grata rapina* (*OLD* s.v. 2).

309 The last god to serve as an example is the chaste Moon (if she is meant to point to a possibility that even Hippolytus may melt with love, S. has made nothing of the connection). Her lover was Endymion.

310 deserta 'neglected', cf. 462; at [Virg.] *Culex* 285 *nocte relicta* the Moon stops her chariot to listen to Orpheus (the phrase is an abl. absolute). At *H.F.* 265 and 1157-8 the phrase *caelo relicto* similarly indicates that a god abandons his post to go love-making (cf. 294 above).

311-16 Myth (*fabula*) was fiction (*figmentum*) and poets aimed to invent (*figere*) new twists for old stories: this was called *licentia poetica* (see *OLD* s.v. *licentia* 5). This episode is a charming instance of such fantasy, worthy of Ovid. The Sun drove a quadriga, the Moon a biga (cf. *Ag.* 816-18a, and Lyne on [Virg.] *Ciris* 38), and their courses round the earth were different. S. imagines the difficulties that would arise if Apollo undertook Diana's task so that she could go courting.

313 gyro 'orbit' (*OLD* s.v. 4); this Greek loan-word was more popular among Latin poets than in its native setting (Kenney on [Virg.] *Moretum* 26); one attraction was that in verse it supplied handier forms than *circulus*. Its sense here is not found in Greek.

316 grauiore curru: Apollo's greater weight burdens his sister's smaller chariot and so extends night's length. S. had a precedent in Virg. *Aen.* 6.412-14, where the substantial Aeneas depresses Charon's ghostly boat; that scene reworked Hom. *Il.* 5.838-40 where Athene's weight made Diomedes's chariot creak. S. 'restores' the original theme.

317-30 Hercules (*natus Alcmena*, cf. *H.F.* 773) closes the series with a description of the effect upon him of his love for the Lydian queen Omphale. As was the case with Apollo's service to Admetus (296n.), the motive was not at first erotic. Hercules was sold into slavery as a penalty

for killing Iphitus (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.6.2–3). Sophocles in the *Trachiniae* does not appear to know of Hercules' being in love with his mistress Omphale; a later account relates that when she found out who her unknown slave was, she freed him and married him (Diod. Sic. 4.31.5–8). Ovid at any rate sees the story in purely erotic terms at *Her.* 9.55–118; for this a Hellenistic poet may have been his source. S.'s treatment of the myth is wholly founded upon Ovid's and that accords with his carefree attitude to verse composition. In *Epist.* 79.5–6 he makes it clear that writing poetry is less a matter of inspiration than of imitation: *qui praecesserant* [sc. *poetae*] *non praeripuisse mihi uidentur quae dici poterant, sed aperuisse. Multum interest utrum ad consumptam* ['used up'] *materiam an ad subactam* ['tamed'] *accedas: crescit in dies, et inuenturis inuenta non obstant. Praeterea condicio optima est ultimi: parata uerba inuenit, quae aliter instructa nouam faciem habent.* Thus in describing the effeminate Hercules S. has some of Ovid's details with the addition of the finger-ring (319) and sock (322): *inuenturis inuenta non obstant.* S. turns not to the Muse, but to the card index file for this mythical 'invention' (he owed a debt to Ovid's ninth *Epistle* at *H.F.* 465–71 also).

320 legem: applied to otherwise unruly hair the word is Ovidian (*TLL* VII 2.1247.77–80; cf. 804).

321 crura: at *Her.* 9.59–60 *non puduit fortis auro cohibere lacertos, | et solidis gemmas opposuisse toris?*² Ovid referred to arm bracelets; S. varies the ornament and seems to have in mind a thigh-band (*periscelis*), which could be studded with pearls. (He records at *Ben.* 2.12.1 that Caligula wore gilded socks *margaritis distinctum*.)

distincto points elliptically to the use of gems as studs in the gold band, cf. *Med.* 573–4 *quodque gemmarum nitor | distinguit aurum, quo solent cingi comae.*

322 luteo ... socco: both the sock and its colour were reckoned peculiar to women (Suet. *Calig.* 52; Plin. *N.H.* 21.46). S. complained that contemporary fops *lacernas improbi coloris sumunt* (*Epist.* 114.21) which may refer to yellow as 'glaring'. The homosexual priests of the Syrian goddess wore yellow shoes, *pedes luteis induti calceis* (Apul. *Met.* 8.27.2; cf. *TLL* s.v. *luteus* VII 2.1896.70).

324 Wool-working was an important element in the degradation of Hercules; cf. Ov. *Her.* 9.73–80 and *A.A.* 2.219–20.

325–57 The metre abruptly changes to anapaestic dimeters; there is no change of theme.

325–6 ditis ... harenae: a reference to the gold-bearing Lydian

river, Pactolus; cf. *Oed.* 467 *diuite Pactolos uexit te Lydius unda* and *Phoen.* 604-5. *ferax* governs the gen., as at *Tro.* 836 *ferax uarii lapidis Carystos. harenae* is the emendation of Grotius; it satisfies the demands of sense as the MS *regno* does not, but it must be noted that the elision produced is most unusual (cf. 31 and 1147).

328-9 In order to fulfil his eleventh labour Hercules shouldered heaven so that Atlas, its usual bearer, could enter the Garden of the Hesperides and fetch their apples for him (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.5.11). There is a fine metope representing the scene from the temple of Zeus at Olympia; it is also depicted on vases (see J. Boardman, *Athenian black-figure vases* (1974) 156). The conceit that the neck and shoulders which bore heaven also wore women's ornaments is Ovidian, but at *Her.* 9.57-8 it is a necklace; once again S. aims at novelty by variation.

328 regia caeli: heaven is the royal residence of the gods (Virg. *Geor.* 1.503, Ov. *Met.* 2.298); the sense is here somewhat weakened (*OLD* s.v. *regia* 2).

329 tenuem: i.e., not some rough hide or fabric suited to a man.

Tyrio stamine: abl. of material with *pallam*; a reference to the purple dye which came from Phoenicia (cf. *H.F.* 467 *ueste Sidonia*). The *palla* was worn either by Roman women or non-Roman men.

330 Sacer 'heaven-sent', as inspired by a god (*OLD* s.v. 6b).

332 per ipsum ... mundum 'through the very heaven'; *ipsum* emphasizes the extraordinary power (*OLD* s.v. 9). *mundus* is often used of the sky, as at 961; see Tarrant on *Ag.* 827.

335-7 Love's power penetrates the sea, albeit Nereids were traditionally shy (*RE* xvii 7.19, but at Prop. 1.17.25-8 they are favourable to lovers); S. may recall the love of Thetis, Galatea (Ov. *Met.* 13.738) and Lycorias (Virg. *Geor.* 4.339-40). The conceit that a water divinity cannot quench the fire of love is found in (and may be owed to) Ovid, *Am.* 3.6.41-2 [*Nilus*] *fertur in Euanthe collectam Asopide flammam | uincere gurgitibus non potuisse suis*.

337 releuare 'alleviate' (*OLD* s.v. 3).

341 coniugio 'spouse' by the figure metonymy; cf. *Tro.* 59 *hic Hectoris coniugia despondet sibi* (*OLD* s.v. 3a).

342 Cf. Virg. *Geor.* 3.265 *imbelles dant proelia cerui*. S.'s imitative technique is also apparent in this section on the strength of love in beasts where he draws on Virgil's third *Georgic*, 242-83.

343 mugitu: a reference to the 'belling' of stags.

345 decolor: used of Indians by Propertius (4.3.10) in a phrase borrowed by Ovid (*A.A.* 3.130 *decolor Indus*); Ovid then used it of India at *Met.* 4.21; cf. *Med.* 484 *perustis Indiae populis*.

346 acuit dentes: cf. Virg. *Geor.* 3.255 *dentesque Sabellicus exacuit sus* (in the section on love's power over beasts).

351 insani: a standing epithet of the raging sea (700 below = *Ag.* 540, Ov. *Her.* 7.53, 18.28; Canter (1925) 107).

352 Lucae ... boues: the Romans explained this phrase as derived from the fact that Pyrrhus used elephants in his invasion of Lucania (Plin. *N.H.* 8.16); this view is not now accepted and the origin of the phrase is a mystery. At any rate the allusion is an anachronism (cf. 499, 535, 983–4 and see Costa on *Med.* 113 *Fescenninus* and R.B. Steele in *A.J.P.* 43 (1922) 20–30).

354 odium 'antipathy' rather than 'hatred' (cf. 568n.).

357 nouercas 'a stepmother'; the Latin pl. and the English indefinite article often fulfil a similar function. Stepmothers were proverbially cruel (Otto 245–6). The word refocusses attention on Phaedra.

ACT II

358–9 The Chorus now speak in iambic trimeters and indicate the return of the Nurse (it is remarkable how often the Chorus of the *Phaedra* announce arrivals on stage: 829–34, 989–90, 1154–5; S. does not usually trouble to follow the Greek convention so closely). No reason is given for her return. Once again, it is his technique of imitation that lets S. down. Euripides' Chorus only know that Phaedra is unwell and they can but guess at the cause (*Hipp.* 129–60). The Nurse then appears (*Hipp.* 170–1) accompanying her mistress who longs for fresh air (*Hipp.* 181). This is all coherent and plausible, since Phaedra has not been seen before that moment. S., however, has already produced Phaedra on stage and his Chorus are well aware of her passion; since Phaedra and the Nurse had no cause to leave the stage they have no cause to return to it. S. for his part could not bring himself to dispense with the delirium of his heroine as Euripides had described it, even though he had cut away all ground for such a scene. There is no gain, dramatic or psychological (Barrett 36).

358 profare: a word of high poetry from the time of Livius Andronicus (Tarrant on *Thy.* 244).

loco 'situation' (*OLD* s.v. 22).

362 tacito 'hidden' (*OLD* s.v. 8); to describe passions we commonly use metaphors referring to fire or weapons or wounds; since these operate invisibly within us, poets commonly call them *tacitus* or *caecus*, e.g. Sil. *Pun.* 11.396 *pubem tacitis exurite telis* or Virg. *Aen.* 4.2 *caeco carpitur igni* (Dido). Even though Phaedra has revealed her passion it is still closed within her.

quoque 'even though' (*OLD* s.v. 4).

363 proditur uultu furor: that our features reveal the hidden working of the heart is a common view developed elsewhere by S. (Tarrant on Ag. 128 *totus in uultu est dolor* = *Med.* 446; cf. Sall. *Catil.* 15.5 *igitur colos exsanguis, foedi oculi, citus modo, modo tardus incessus: prorsus in facie uoltuque uecordia inerat*). Here the symptoms of love are set out at length and in traditional form; cf. Apul. *Met.* 10.2 (a description, as it happens, of a lovesick stepmother): *iam cetera salutis uultusque detrimenta et aegris et amantibus examussim* ['exactly'] *conuenire nemo qui nesciat: pallor deformis, marcentes oculi, lassa genua, quies turbida et suspiritus*.

364 ignis 'gleam' (*OLD* s.v. 6); cf. Virg. *Aen.* 12.102 *oculis . . . micat ignis*. The eyes sparkle with excitement.

genae 'eyes' (*OLD* s.v. 2). That sick eyes avoid the light is noted at Vit. *beat.* 19.6 *solem lumina aegra formidant*.

366 The tossing to and fro was described at Eur. *Hipp.* 203-4.

incertus 'restless' (*OLD* s.v. 12).

367 ut: take with *moriens*.

soluto 'nerveless' (*OLD* s.v. 5); Euripides' Phaedra also complains of the relaxation of her limbs (*Hipp.* 199).

gradu, with a defining epithet, commonly closes the line in S. (cf. 1000) and is almost equivalent to an adverb (*TLL* vi 2.2143.83-2144.10).

368 The drooping head was also a feature of Euripides' Phaedra (*Hipp.* 198); for the form of expression cf. Virg. *Aen.* 9.436-7 *lassoue papauera collo | demisere caput*.

369-70 There has been no indication before this that a day or so has passed since we first saw Phaedra (and such passage of time would be unusual in a tragedy); it would seem that S. recalled that Euripides' Chorus spoke of an illness of three days (*Hipp.* 135-40).

370 attolli: at Eur. *Hipp.* 198 Phaedra's first words are a request to be raised and supported.

371–3 At Eur. *Hipp.* 202 Phaedra asked that her hair be unbound but S. gives us instead a peevish Marschallin, dissatisfied with coiffure and dress.

372 impatiens sui: cf. *Epist.* 56.8 *inertia sui impatiens*.

373–4 Euripides' Phaedra had fasted three days (*Hipp.* 135–8).

Cereris refers specifically to bread, a common metonymy; Euripides had said that she kept her body in purity from Demeter's grain. (The conjunction of the god's name, used in this way, with a common noun, *salutis*, is illustrated by Leo, *Obs.* 199 n. 10.)

374 incerto pede repeats 367 *soluta ... gradu* unnecessarily (Leo, *Obs.* 57).

375 uiribus defecta: the type of phrase is Ovidian, e.g., *Met.* 5.96 *sanguine defectos ... artus*, 9.635–6 *mente defecisse*, 10.194 *defecta uigore* (*OLD* s.v. *deficio* 4b). This whole description is similar to those of faintings, which were popular with declaimers (cf. 585–6, *Tro.* 949–54 and *Ag.* 775–8; Bonner 60).

376 The loss of colour was noted by Euripides (*Hipp.* 175).

377–8 The lines were deleted by Leo (1878); they recapitulate unnecessarily what has gone before and interrupt the description of Phaedra's face. (Their authenticity is defended by Billerbeck (1988) 107.)

379 facis: of the sun, the usage goes back to Ennius *scaen.* 243 Jocelyn (*OLD* s.v. 3).

380 micant: Phaedra's eyes used to shine, a token that she was the Sun's granddaughter; now they do not (but this does not square with 364 where their gleaming is asserted).

382 qualiter: this metrically convenient form first appears in Augustan verse and then in imperial prose.

Tauri: exemplary of cold, cf. *Med.* 682–3 *perpetua niue | Taurus coerces frigore Arctoo rigens* and Tibull. 1.7.16 *frigidus ... Taurus*. The simile is Ovidian (Bömer on *Met.* 2.852–3) but S. adds the soaking rains of spring to the melting snows; cf. *Ov. Am.* 1.7.57–8 *suspensaeque diu lacrimae fluxere per ora, | qualiter abiecta de niue manat aqua*.

384–6 The description of an apparently interior scene is favoured by S.; cf. *H.F.* 999–1053, *Thy.* 908–11.

384 fastigia 'door', a bold synecdoche (so Canter (1925) 123).

385 toro 'bolster' (*OLD* s.v. 4). That her couch is gilded is a typical touch of contemporary luxury (cf. Plaut. *Stich.* 377 *lectos eburatos*,

auratos), which prepares the audience for the costly scene that follows.

386 mente non sana: the phrase is a cue for the caprice of Phaedra's speech (S. uses a similar one at *Thy.* 919).

387-8 auro inlitas uestes cleverly reverses Hor. *C.* 4.9.13 *aurum uestibus inlitum*. Purple and gold cloth belong to Roman ladies of rank (cf. *Epist.* 90.46 in the golden age *nondum texebatur aurum*). S. embraces the chance to list the exotic sources of Phaedra's imported finery; there may also be a hint at the moral equation of 204-5 above, that soft living promotes erotic indulgence.

389 That silk was culled from trees was a common belief since the method of its manufacture was unknown (*RE*² s.v. *Serica* II 2.1724-7). Virgil first mentioned the Seres (= Chinese) at *Geor.* 2.121 *uelleraque ut foliis depectant tenuia Seres*.

391 ceruix monili uacua: sc. *sit*, an unusual ellipse (Leo, *Obs.* 191).

391-2 Pearls were a mania among wealthy Roman women (Plin. *N.H.* 13.91) and S. praised his mother Helvia for not being addicted to them (*Helu.* 16.3); he had occasion to mark their size and cost at *Ben.* 7.9.4 *uideo uniones non singulos singulis auribus comparatos. iam enim exercitatae aures oneri ferendo sunt: iunguntur inter se et insuper alii binis superponuntur*.

392 donum: of foreign produce, cf. *Oed.* 305 *dono turis Eoi* and *Ag.* 807 *Arabum donis* (a phrase owed to [Ov.] *epist. Sapph.* 76).

393 odore ... Assyrio: commonly applied to all perfumes (N-H on Hor. *C.* 2.11.16); the phrase is found at Catull. 68. 144 *fragrantem Assyrio uenit odore domum*.

sparsus: before women took to cropping their hair, it was usually worn bound up; its unbinding had powerful erotic overtones, cf. Apul. *Met.* 2.17 *crinibusque dissolutis* and Lovelace's request that Amarantha sweet and fair let down, let down her golden hair.

394 sic temere 'just anyhow', cf. Hor. *C.* 2.11.14 (cited in the previous n. too - S. plainly has this ode in the back of his mind, cf. 774n.).

397 hastile ... Thessalicum: a clear recollection of Eur. *Hipp.* 221 where Phaedra specifies a Thessalian hunting spear (S.'s eye for such a detail is astonishing).

398 The line was deleted as an interpolation by Heinsius. The reference to Hippolytus is blatant and unwelcome (Kunst (1924)), and the comparison to a particular Amazon spoils the simile which follows (Zwierlein (1966) 190, n. 11).

400 Atticum pulsans solum: an allusion to the raid of the Amazons on Attica after Theseus stole their queen Antiope or Hippolyte (Herod. 9.27.4). The invasion is represented on the metopes of the Parthenon in the British Museum. Cf. *Tro.* 13 *ripam . . . Ponticam . . . ferit* [sc. *Amazon*].

401–2 nodo comas coegit emisitque: as represented in various forms of Greek art the Amazons often wore their hair in a sort of ‘ponytail’, knotted on the top of the head but with the long lock left free; cf. *Ira* 3.26.3 *crinis . . . coactus in nodum apud Germanos*.

402 latus: acc. of respect with *protecta*.

403 pelta: the curved shield, sometimes seen in artistic representations, is often mentioned by the poets, e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 1.490 *Amazonidum lunalis agmina peltis* (= *Aen.* 11.663).

404–30 The distribution of these lines to speakers has prompted a good deal of discussion. The solution followed here, in spite of misgivings, was proposed by Friedrich (1933) and supported by Vretska (1968); Zwierlein (1987) adopts a different distribution. The problems of correct analysis are not helped by S.’s tendency to imprecise expression and inconsistency. For instance, *questus* applies neither to what Phaedra has just said nor to the Nurse’s speech at 360–83 (Leo (1878) 381 had to urge that the Nurse indulged in dumb-show, ‘gestibus tristitiam praeferentem’, but that is impossible since all stage action must be verbally signalled, and *sepone* is not clearly addressed to anyone but the last speaker, Phaedra). (For imprecision see 408n. and for inconsistency see 427n.) The Nurse urges Phaedra to pray to Diana (405). The prayer (406–22) appears to be answered and so Phaedra, still a somewhat modest woman, urges the Nurse to get on with the task she had promised earlier to perform. After 426 she leaves the stage. At 427 the Nurse admits to qualms, but presses on with her job.

404 questus: Phaedra had not uttered complaints; there is an analogous inconsequence at *Tro.* 511 where the Senex says to Andromache *questus . . . opprime* after her perfectly straightforward proposal to move (Friedrich (1933) 119–20).

405 The Nurse urges Phaedra to pray to Diana as mistress of the hunt and protectress of Hippolytus; the altar of the goddess, a fixture in the Greek theatre, would have been present in a staged production (cf. 424 and Tarrant on *Ag.* 392a, p. 249).

406–22 The prayer to Diana is chiefly directed to her under her

aspect of witch, Hecate; in this guise she might favour lovers (cf. Theocr. *Id.* 2.10-14). Euripides referred to a prayer to the moon, Selene, in his first *Hippolytus* (see Barrett 19, fr. E 35 n. 1, 36 n. 4). But, after all, this prayer is dramatically irrelevant since Diana-Hecate does not convert Hippolytus (similarly irrelevant is the long extispicy at *Oed.* 299-392; it ends in failure and Tiresias turns instead to necromancy).

406 regina nemorum: the Italian Diana was *nemorum cultrix* (Virg. *Aen.* 11.557); *montes* is more appropriate to the Greek Artemis, but Roman poets usually combine the haunts, e.g., Hor. *C.* 3.22.1 *montium custos nemorumque, Virgo* (Ellis on Catull. 34.9,10).

sola: the word is common in prayers, establishing the unique power of the god (Tarrant on *Ag.* 354; see Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 1280-2 for Greek usage). S. indulges in a play on the word in a different sense (cf. 66n.) in the next line, as Propertius had done before him, 2.19.7 *sola eris et solos spectabis, Cynthia, montes*.

408 Cf. Prop. 1.17.9 *in melius saeuas conuerte querellas*.

ominum: no omens connected with the moon's appearance have been mentioned as yet. It may be that S. has adopted the terms of a prayer from Euripides without noticing that some details had not been incorporated into his drama (cf. 1206n.).

409 siluas inter et lucos: the preposition is similarly sandwiched between its dependent nouns in 494 and 935; cf. Hor. *C.* 3.23.10 *quercus inter et ilices*. This artistic arrangement is also found in prose, e.g., Caes. *B.G.* 6.36.2, *B.C.* 3.6.3; Livy 22.3.3; Tac. *Ann.* 4.55.7.

411 alterna face 'alternating beam', i.e., the moon's light alternates with the sun's to brighten the sky; *fax* is also used of the moon at *Med.* 793 (cf. 379 above). The variant *uice* (E) is prompted by the common phrases, *alterna uice* (*Ag.* 561, *Thy.* 25) and *alternis uicibus* (*H.F.* 377, *Phoen.* 1028); in short, *uice* is a trivialization.

412 Hecate: this goddess was associated with the moon, Diana in the guise of a witch. Her triple shape is variously explained (Pease on Virg. *Aen.* 4.511, p. 420), but the simplest view is that she is one goddess under three aspects: Diana, Luna, Hecate the witch, each dwelling in separate parts of the universe; Hecate controlled plants (for poisons) so is associated with the Underworld.

413-17 The prayer is divided into three members, each of which is subdivided into two halves; the first half has its verb in the imperative

(*doma*, *mitiga*, *inflecte*), the second in the optative subj. (*det*, *discat*, *ferat*, *redeat*).

413 *rigentem* = *rigidus* ‘stubborn’.

414 *facilis*: nom., as the scansion shows. Three of the next four lines end with a word beginning in *fe*-; this incantatory effect well suits the prayer form.

415 *mutuos ignes ferat* ‘let him both feel and return love’ (*OLD* s.v. *mutuus* 3).

416 *inflecte* ‘change his heart’s direction’ (*OLD* s.v. 3). This emendation better suits the metaphorical field established by *doma* and *mitiga*, since all three verbs look to the management of animals (cf. Sil. *Pun.* 9.646 *cornipedem inflectens* ‘turning his horse round’). *innecte* (ω) is good in itself (with it must be understood a phrase such as *amoris retibus*), but it upsets the sequence by introducing the notion of trickery.

toruus auersus ferox: to be understood concessively, ‘grim ... as he is’. The heaping up of epithets is peculiar to Latin tragic style. Accius, for example, transforms a single word from Eur. *Phoen.* 875 into three: *desertum abiectum afflictum* (fr. 595R², cf. F. Leo ‘De tragoedia romana’ in *Ausgewählte kleine Schriften* I (1964) 192–3). S. imitates the manner, e.g., at 923 and 939; cf. 1221n. and Canter (1925) 169–70.

417 *redeat*: *re-* need not imply return, but rather going where he belongs (cf. N–H on Hor. *C.* 1.9.6 *reponens*).

418 *sic* ‘on this one condition’ (*OLD* s.v. 8d); the condition is expressed by the imperative, *intende*, which usually follows (Fordyce on Catull. 17.5).

420 *frena* = *currus* by synecdoche; cf. Ag. 296 *frena reuocantem sua*.

421 The witches of Thessaly were believed to be able to draw down the moon (Roscher *Lexicon* s.v. ‘Mondgöttin’ II 2.3165); cf. 791 and *Med.* 791 *Thessalicis uexata minis*.

422 *pastor*: Phaedra prays that Diana may not fall for a second Endymion (cf. 309–15). But S.’s allusion may have been unusual. Many Latin writers before him, especially Ovid, had alluded to Endymion but none had given him a profession, so to say. In the later Greek tradition, however, Endymion was set in a pastoral context (owed, we may suppose, to the cave on Latmos where he slept eternally); so in [Theocr.] 20.37–9 he is a cowherd, and that role persists (e.g., Quint. Smyrn. 10.128 and Nonnus, *Dionys.* 15.284). S. is the first Latin writer to allude

to this tradition; *pastor* need not specify a shepherd since the word is used of anyone who tended animals, even chickens. The tradition continues with Claudian (10.114-15), and for our own Keats *Endymion* is very much a shepherd.

423 fauet: after begging the goddess to hear and help, Phaedra at once notices that her prayer is answered and then explains why she is so assured. (Cf. 81.)

424 Hippolytus returns at this point, and, as in the opening scene of Eur. *Hipp.*, thanks his patroness. The altar must be imagined as present (cf. 405n.), especially at 708-9.

sollemne ... sacrum 'his usual cult object', i.e., a statue of Diana on the stage, near her altar. The same phrase in different senses is found at *Med.* 797-8 ('customary ritual') and *N.Q.* 4.2.7 ('usual festival').

426 Cf. *H.F.* 354 *fors dedit nobis locum* and *Ov. Met.* 14.372 *nacta locum tempusque* (also before the seduction of a youth). Phaedra leaves.

427 mandatum scelus: in fact the Nurse had taken the task upon herself at 272; the inadvertence reappears at 592.

428 iusta 'considerations of what is right' as at Lucan 8.489-90 *si pendere iusta | incipit*.

430 The scene closes with a *sententia*, echoed by Sil. *Pun.* 14.93-4 *uilissima regi | cura pudor*.

431-4 Despite earlier references to his truculence Hippolytus shows a courteous concern for his family; albeit his enquiry about his father's well-being (Theseus has been absent for four years) seems inept.

431 moliris gradus: a new phrase for 'walk' (*OLD* s.v. *molior* 7b), it suggests the difficulty she has in moving (as usual S. aims at extreme pathos).

432 fida: a cliché of retainers; cf. 725, *Med.* 568, *Ag.* 411, *Thy.* 334-5.

433-4 sospes ... sospes: Kunst (1924) detected a similarity to Hom. *Il.* 16.14 'Menoetius lives still and Peleus lives still', where Achilles enquires after the cause of Patroclus' grief.

433 certe 'at any rate' (*OLD* s.v. 26).

434 stirpis ... geminae: Phaedra had two sons, Acamas and Demophon, by Theseus.

et: 15n.

iugum: used by Cicero of a pair of men, *Phil.* 11.6 *iugum impiorum* (*TLL* vii 2.640.70-7).

435–82 The Nurse's speech may be founded remotely on the dialogue in Eur. *Hipp.* 88–120, in which the old servant urges the young man to respect Aphrodite's claims; yet its dramatic merit at this point is questionable (Barrett 38). Instead of a dramatic exchange there is a rhetorical debate on generalized moral themes (D. and E. Henry (1985) 87). After all, this speech is a *suasoria* on a common theme, *an uxor ducenda sit*, and S. doubtless deployed similar declamatory arguments (e.g., 478–80) in his now lost treatise, *De matrimonio* (cf. Quint. *Inst.* 2.4.25, 3.5.8).

The exchange between the Nurse and Hippolytus is a forerunner of the debate between Comus and the Lady in Milton's *Comus* 666–799. The Nurse and Comus both adopt the same view, that chastity is against nature. Indeed Comus turns the Nurse's illustration (471–4) on its head; he knows that chastity is peculiar to humankind and so observes that nature would be surcharged, cumbered and strangled with waste fertility if men were chaste, a fine conceit (728–32). The difference appears in the counter-arguments. Milton's Lady actually answers the wizard's points and is ready to plead for the serious doctrine of virginity; S. has no sympathy with the characteristic virtue of Hippolytus, so Hippolytus' speech does not answer the Nurse's or defend his way of life. He appears negative, a mere misogynist (559, 566–73).

435 statu 'condition'; cf. *Med.* 879 *concidit regni status*.

437 ueni 'show yourself'; the verb often 'marks the impact of someone appearing in a fresh guise' (Shackleton Bailey 31).

438 anxiam: 'troubles me so that I am upset on your behalf', predicative.

440–3 The plea of mitigation is similar to *Oed.* 1019 *fati ista culpa est: nemo fit fato nocens*. But far closer, as Kunst (1924) observed, is a passage in Soph. *Phil.* 1316–20 in which Neoptolemus tells Philoctetes that self-inflicted misery deserves no one's pity.

441 ultro se ... offert: cf. Caes. *B.G.* 7.77.5, Virg. *Ecl.* 3.66 *at mihi sese offert ultro, meus ignis, Amyntas. uolens* enhances the spontaneous or conscious aspect of the self-punishment.

442 ipse: the echo of 439 stresses the subject's choice: he and no other inflicts the torment.

dignus governing the inf. is first found in Catull. 68.31 *concedere digna* and it remains poetic syntax until Augustan prose adopts it (*TLL* v 1.1152.32–70).

443 quis = *quibus*, a form confined to poetry and history in S.'s day (Austin on Virg. *Aen.* 1.95).

annorum: 231n.

444-5 facem | attolle: anyone abroad in city streets at night carried a torch to light the way; the chief reason to be on the streets was to get from one drinking session to another (or to get home).

445 curas Bacchus exoneret graues: a remodelling of Hor. *C.* 2.11.17-18 *dissipat Euhius curas edacis*.

446 aetate 'youth' (*OLD* s.v. 4a); cf. *Tro.* 251 *aetatis alios feruor hic primus rapit*.

447 facile 'adaptable' (*TLL* vi 62.84).

Venus: like a wily pleader the Nurse insinuates her chief point into the argument cautiously.

448 toro uiduo: the phrase is neatly lifted from Ovid. He used it of a bed vacated by one partner (e.g., *Her.* 5.106, 10.14; *Trist.* 5.5.48), but S. uses *uiduus* here in the sense 'lacking a partner' (cf. *H.F.* 542 *uiduis gentibus* and *Tro.* 13 *cateruis uiduis* of Amazons).

449-50 Running through these lines is the analogy between races and human emotions (*solue, cursus, habenas*).

449 cursus rape: cf. 738, 962; (*OLD* s.v. *rapio* 8b).

450 habenas: commonly applied to feelings (Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 1.280 and Tarrant on *Ag.* 114 *da frena et omnem prona nequitiam incita*).

451-3 The 'ages of man' was a topic which received a good deal of analysis in antiquity; the classic modern study is by F. Boll, 'Die Lebensalter', now in *Kleine Schriften zur Sternkunde des Altertums* (1950) 156-224. Roman society was divided into age groups, tradition said by King Servius (*Aul. Gell.* 10.28); that each group might have a specific social role was also a notion encouraged by the fixed ages for holding certain public offices (J. P. Neraudau, *La jeunesse dans la littérature et les institutions de la Rome républicaine* (1977) 89-143 'La Rome et les âges de la vie'). S. here contents himself with only two stages, youth and old age.

451 descripsit 'laid down' (*OLD* s.v. *describo* 5 and see Brink on Hor. *A.P.* 86 where, as here, *discripsit* 'allotted' has been conjectured).

deus: in S. the word is synonymous with nature: cf. 959 and *Ben.* 4.7.1 *quid enim aliud est natura quam deus et diuina ratio toti mundo partibusque eius inserta?*

452 suos: here refers not to the subj. but to the obj. (*OLD* s.v. A2 Syntax).

gradus ‘stage of life’ (*OLD* s.v. 6c).

453 iuuenem ... senem: homoioteleuton (similar word-end) points the antithesis.

454 necas ‘choke’, a technical term from agriculture (Summers on *Epist.* 90.21 *ne quid ... agreste succrescat quod necet segetem*; he refers to this line and observes that a metaphor from farming follows).

455 fenus ‘interest’; cf. *Cic. Sen.* 51 *terra ... reddit quod accepit ... maiore cum fenore*.

458 quam: 134n. The Nurse may have in mind the practice of pollarding or clipping trees and bushes rather than letting them achieve their natural habit; the elder Pliny notes that *nemora tonsilia* first appeared under Augustus (*N.H.* 12.13) and he refers to cypresses clipped into shapes at *N.H.* 16.140.

459–60 An implied comparison: as with field and tree so with talent or inclination.

461 truculentus ‘aggressive’, cf. *Thy.* 547 where the word is used of Atreus; S. heightens his colours excessively.

siluester: ‘not just descriptive, but implying a life of deprivation’ (Tarrant on *Thy.* 142).

uitae ‘human experience’ (*OLD* s.v. 8).

462 deserta: 310n.

463 As is often the case Latin does not trouble to express the notion ‘only’, which here attaches to *hoc ... munus* (cf. 531; Kenney on *Lucr.* 3.144 with addenda).

464–5 ut ... gerant forms a tricolon crescendo.

464 cursibus: instrumental abl. as at *Virg. Geor.* 3.132 *cursu quantunt*, but dat. of purpose has been suggested (e.g., at *TLL* IV 1531.76).

466 prouidit ‘saw to it (= *ut*) that’ (*OLD* s.v. 3b).

467 Fati manus: cf. *Ov. Am.* 3.9.19–20 *Mors ... obscuras inicit ... manus*.

468 The line is a reworking of *Hor. C.* 4.6.13 *damna tamen celeres reparant caelestia lunae*.

469 excedat: a paratactic conditional sentence, in which the protasis is a jussive subj. without *si*. S. is fond of the construction which is characteristic of Ovid (cf. 478–80, 567–8, 795–7); the fut. in what amounts to the apodosis (*iacebit, stabit, erit*) is also usual (cf. 809–11; Leo, *Obs.* 224; *H-S* 657). Cf. 812–15.

agedum: a call to attention (*OLD* s.v. *ago* 24d).

rebus humanis: ‘fere id quod uita’ (*TLL* vi 3090.4–25); the phrase is commonest with expressions implying departure from the world in death.

471–4 The universal term *orbis* is a springboard for an analytical list, and the world’s constituent elements are given a line apiece. The list is an adaptation of Ov. *Met.* 1.74–5 *cesserunt nilidis habitandae piscibus undae, | terra feras cepit, uolucres agitabilis aer* (cf. *A.A.* 2.471–2). But S.’s adaptation has the spice of wit: he describes the end of things on earth, where Ovid described creation.

475–6 The various roads to death was a popular theme, fully illustrated by van Dam on Stat. *Silu.* 2.1.213–18; cf. *Phoen.* 153 *mille ad hanc (= mortem) aditus patent* and Sen. *Controu.* 7.1.9 *multis (sc. modis) morimus: laqueus, gladius (= ferrum), praeceps locus, uenenum (= doli), naufragium (= pontus)*; we here see the younger S.’s indebtedness to declamatory rhetoric (C. Preisendanz, *Philol.* 67 (1908) 68–112; Leo, *Obs.* 152–5).

476 carpunt ‘reduce’; cf. *Oed.* 113–4 *carpitur leto | tuus ille ... miles* (*OLD* s.v. 7c).

477 credas: 146n.

sic ‘on your terms’, prospective of what follows. Cf. *H.F.* 185 *Stygias ultro quaerimus undas*.

478–80 probet: 469n.

479 hoc ... quidquid uides ‘all that you see’; cf. Prop. 4.1.1 *hoc quodcumque uides*. The Nurse deploys a declamatory argument (i.e., one which would sway no one outside a rhetorical school) to the effect that if we fail to reproduce ourselves the world will be populated (*turba*) for only one generation (*unius aevi*, a descriptive gen.; *OLD* s.v. *aeuum* 4). (Ovid deploys a similar argument against abortion at *Am.* 2.14.9–10.)

481–2 Good Stoic doctrine in a bad cause. The Nurse urges the precept of living in accordance with nature (for nature had been the controlling image of her speech), and she sees man as a communal animal (cf. *Ira* 2.31.7 *homines ... ad coetum [community life] geniti sunt*). The alliterative conclusion has great force.

483–564 Hippolytus replies in kind to the Nurse. His speech too is a declamation and on a common theme, the superiority of country to town (the Nurse’s *urbem* gave him his cue). This theme was called a *locus philosophumenus*, i.e., one likely to be handled by popular philosophers in their sermons. (S.’s philosophical instructor, Papirius Fabianus, began life as a declaimer and a fragment of one of his speeches on this very

theme is preserved by the elder Seneca at *Contr.* 2.1.11–13.) The elements of Hippolytus' speech are not only commonplaces, treated elsewhere by S. (e.g., *Thy.* 446–70, *Epist.* 90 *passim*, *N.Q.* 1.17.5–10), but they are also drawn in large measure from Virgil and Ovid. There are two important studies on the topic: R. Vischer, *Das einfache Leben* (1965) and B. Gatz, *Weltalter, goldene Zeit, und sinnverwandete Vorstellungen* (1967); Gatz provides a useful analytical index of recurrent elements.

483 libera picks up the Nurse's *libertas* (460), a good debater's ploy.

uitio carens: cf. *Ad Marc.* 23.3. Because it could be declined *carens* was favoured by poets but it is little more than a synonym for *sine* (cf. 1265). Horace exploited it (N–H on *C.* 2.8.11–12 *gelidaque diuos | morte carentis*) and Ovid followed suit (Bömer on *Met.* 2.762 *sole carens*). As usual the poetic turns of the Augustans enter later prose and so at *Epist.* 90.44 S. describes the golden age as *carens fraude*.

484 colat again picks up one of the Nurse's words at 482 but the new object, *ritus priscos*, corrects her attitude.

485 siluas eliminates the slur in the Nurse's epithet *silvester* (461).

486 non illum echoes the *illum non* with which Virgil began his praises of the country life at *Geor.* 2.495.

487 Kunst (1924) noted that these lines inspired the Swiss polymath, Albrecht von Haller, whose *Alpen* (1732) was a landmark in the romantic passion for mountain scenery.

488 Cf. *H.F.* 169–71 *illum ... mobile uolgus | aura tumidum tollit inani* (*OLD* s.v. *aura* 3).

490 regno ... regno: the repetition serves no obvious purpose (cf. 538).

imminens 'intent upon'; cf. 855 (*OLD* s.v. 3b).

491 fluxas 'transitory' (*OLD* s.v. 5).

492 niger 'evil' (*OLD* s.v. 9).

493 dente: envy's tooth is a common image (*TLL* v 542.35–58); the novel epithet *degeneri* recalls *Ag.* 739 *ignobili sub dente*.

494 sata 'fomented'; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 7.339 *sere crimina belli* (*OLD* s.v. *sero*¹ 9); Heinsius supported his conjecture by citing Plaut. *Capt.* 661 *sator ... scelerum*.

495 Hippolytus refers to the guilty conscience of the criminal who expects detection at any moment.

496 fingit 'distorts', to suit his own ends, as at *H.F.* 251–2 *felix scelus | uirtus uocatur*.

496–8 Roman palaces, such as S. owned, were a common theme

among moralists, especially their many columns and gilded beams; cf. Hor. *C.* 2.18.1–5 *non ebur neque aureum | mea renidet in domo lacunar, | non trabes Hymettiae | premunt columnas ultima recisas | Africa*; Prop. 3.2.9–10 *quod non Taenariis domus est mihi fulsa columnis | nec camera auratas inter eburnae trabes*. Elsewhere too S. describes the luxury of decoration which he deplors; the palace of Atreus at *Thy.* 645–7 is wickedly gilded and columned (cf. *Ben.* 4.6.2, *Epist.* 90.9 and 42).

497 insolens ‘arrogant’ (*OLD* s.v. 4); cf. *Epist.* 87.32 *dant diuitiae insolentiam*.

498 suffigit: the word describes technically the affixing of thin plates of gold (*lamina*) to the beams or woodwork of the coffer (*lacunar*).

498–500 S. does not mean that the country dweller entirely fails to sacrifice, but that he has no need of lavish outlay; the emphasis falls on *largus* and *centena*. Again, the theme is common; Horace composed a whole ode round it, 3.23, to rustic Phidyle (her name means ‘thrifty’); cf. *Epist.* 95.47–50 and *Ben.* 1.6.3 *ne in uictimis quidem, licet opimae sint auroque praefulgeant, deorum est honor, sed in pia ac recta uoluntate uenerantium. itaque boni etiam farre ac fitilla [‘cake’] religiosi sunt, mali rursus non effugiunt impietatem, quamuis aras sanguine multo cruentauerint*.

499 fruge ... sacra: an anachronistically Roman detail, the *mole salsa* mentioned at *Oed.* 335 and *Thy.* 688; see 352n.

500 centena: the heroic hecatomb.

niuei: the white cattle, pastured in the valley of the Clitumnus, and sacrificed at the rites of the state cults at Rome (cf. Virg. *Geor.* 2.146–7 *hinc albi, Clitumne, greges et maxima taurus | uictima*).

summittunt: their heads are lowered to receive the blow of the axe wielded by the *popa*, the priest’s assistant.

501 uacuo: 71n.

potitur ‘is master of’ (*OLD* s.v. 5).

aperto aethere: the need for fresh air was observed by S. in *Tranq.* 17.8 *et in ambulationibus apertis uagandum ut caelo libero et multo spiritu augeat attollatque se animus*; at *Epist.* 90.43 he deplors the airlessness of Roman palaces.

502 tantum: take with *feris*; *Epist.* 90.41 *arma cessabant incruentaeque humano sanguine manus odium omne in feras uerterant* (but, as usual, S. goes on to contradict himself at 45 *parcebantque adhuc etiam mutis animalibus*; he would like to ascribe vegetarianism to the primitive age).

503 struxisse: the perf. inf. is adopted by poets for its metrical

convenience (cf. 511, 512, 977, 1184); it must be taken to have a timeless, aorist aspect (E. B. Lease, *A.L.L.* 11 (1900) 20).

504 niueo: cf. *Oed.* 427–8 *niueum . . . Araxen*; the moral approval of cold bathing lies behind this line, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 9.603–4 *natos ad flumina primum | deferimus saeuoque gelu duramus et undis* (Dover on Aristoph. *Nub.* 837).

Iliso: a river flowing by Athens (cf. 260).

505 celeris Alphei: the reference suggests competition at Olympia where Alpheus flowed (cf. *Thy.* 232 *Alpheos, stadio notus Olympico*); Euripides' Hippolytus had mentioned success in the games as preferable to kingly power (*Hipp.* 1016) but S.'s appears to refer instead very obliquely to the chastity imposed by athletic training (cf. Plato, *Resp.* 3.405d). *celer* is a standing epithet of rivers (*TLL* III 751.31–8).

507–8 The text printed incorporates the emendations of B. Axelson and repunctuation by E. J. Kenney. Shade is an important element of the *locus amoenus* and Lerna preserves her coolness by avoiding sunlight under a canopy of trees; cf. *Oed.* 545–6 *lucis et Phoebi inscius | . . . umor*.

507 Lerna: a name for various bodies of water; it appears to be a river at *Thy.* 115 *iam Lerna retro cessit* (*RE* XII 2.2089.19). The description is similar to that of Alpheus at *Thy.* 130 *gelido flumine lucidus*. Why Lerna is mentioned is less clear. S. lists it with other rivers of the Peloponnese at *Thy.* 115–19 but it has no obvious connection with the assumed train of Hippolytus' argument (a link with the Nemean games seems unlikely).

508 querulae: cf. Hor. *Ep.* 2.26 *queruntur in siluis aues* and Ov. *Am.* 3.1.4 *dulce queruntur aues*; the adj. is used of birds, or rather of the brood of nestlings, at *H.F.* 148 (founded on Ov. *Med.* 77).

fremunt: the verb and its noun *fremitus* always refer to low and often menacing animal noises; nowhere else are they applied to birds (*TLL* VI 1.1282.44). Since the verb is inappropriate we must admit either that S. has written imprecisely (not an impossible view, 521n.) or that the word is corrupt and possibly influenced in form by *tremunt* in the next line. Likely emendations are *canunt* (E. J. Kenney), *gemunt*, a verb used of cooing doves at Virg. *Ecl.* 1.58, or *obstrepunt* (cf. *Oed.* 454; for the elision cf. 851, 1026, 1280).

509–10 It seems clear that a verse has dropped out of the MSS between these lines, since the name of a tree in the gen. is wanted to complete the sense of *rami*.

509 lene: Ovid much preferred this form to *leniter*, cf. *Am.* 3.5.6, *Met.* 9.661.

510 ueteres: a cliché of beech trees; Virgil used it twice at *Ecl.* 3.12 and 9.10, and the phrase reappears in Calp. Sic. 7.5 and Pers. 5.59.

511 pressisse 'lie on' (*OLD* s.v. 14). Cf. *Epist.* 90.41 *quam mollem somnum illis dura tellus dabat* and Hor. *Epist.* 1.14.35 *prope riuum somnus in herba*.

514 211n.

515 excussa: cf. Ov. *Met.* 14.764 *poma nec excutiant rapidi florentia uenti*.

siluis 'trees' (*OLD* s.v. 3b); the usage is encouraged among poets by the inconvenience of the plural forms of *arbor*.

compescunt 'allay' (*OLD* s.v. 6b).

516 fraga: this unusual word points to S.'s source, Ovid's description of the golden age at *Met.* 1.104 *montanaque fraga legebant*.

517 faciles 'easily digested', cf. *Epist.* 95.15 (*facili cibo*), *TLL* vi 57.712); the sense 'easily procured' may also be felt.

518 est impetus: a phrase invented and exploited by Ovid (263n., Bömer on *Fasti* 5.541, *TLL* vii 610.5).

sollicito: cf. Hor. *Serm.* 2.6.79 *sollicitas ... opes* (*OLD* s.v. 3b); poets commonly ascribe to things the qualities which they produce. This theme is a commonplace found also at *Thy.* 453 *uenenum in auro bibitur* and Sen. *Contr.* 2.1.29 *omnes cibos suspectos habeo, omnes potiones ... non uenenum pauperes timent*.

519 auro 'gold cup'; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1.739 *pleno se prouit auro*.

519-20 Drinking with the bare hand (cf. 544-5 and *OLD* s.v. *nudus* 12) recalls the story S. tells at *Epist.* 90.14 of Diogenes who, when he saw a countryman scoop water from a stream, threw away his now unnecessary cup (cf. Diog. Laert. 6.37).

520 captasse: the perf. inf. here offers no metrical advantage over the pres. (503n.); S. chooses it because it is favoured with *iuuat* (H-S 352).

fontem: poetic for 'water' (*OLD* s.v. 1e).

somnus premit: cf. *Epist.* 70.23 *somno premente* (*OLD* s.v. *premo* 18).

521 uersantem: *Epist.* 90.41 *sollicitudo nos in nostra purpura uersat* (cf. *Epist.* 56-7 *huc nempe uersatur et illuc*) shows that the word is not well chosen for the context since it usually indicates sleepless tossing (hence Axelson's conjectures).

522 furta: common of adultery, e.g., *Ag.* 675 *furta mariti . . . narrat* (*OLD* s.v. 2b).

improbis ‘wanton’; cf. 780 (*OLD* s.v. 7).

523 -que carries on the negative from the previous clause.

523–4 multiplici . . . domo: the phrase is borrowed from Ovid’s description of the Labyrinth at *Met.* 8.158 and applied to a roomy palace.

524 31–32, 110nn.

525–7 Hippolytus now makes the traditional connection between life in the countryside and the manners of the primitive golden age; cf. *Virg. Geor.* 2.458–540, especially 537 *aureus hanc uitam in terris Saturnus agebat*. In *Epist.* 90.4 S. states that early man lived most in accordance with nature.

526 mixtos deis: it was a common belief, reflected in *Genesis* for example, that the first men associated with the gods; cf. *Hes. Op.* 174, *Catull.* 64.384–6. The phrase recalls *Virg. Ecl.* 4.15–16 *diuisque uidebit permixtos heroas*.

527 profudit: the prefix suggests abundance.

527–38 This description of primitive times is an enterprising conflation of two similar passages in Ovid, *Am.* 3.8.41–8 and *Met.* 1.94–102 (cf. 217–30n.). S. has exactly preserved the order of thought as he found it in his model thus:

- (i) no boundary stones = *Am.* 3.8.42.
- (ii.a) no sailing = *Am.* 3.8.43 and *Met.* 1.94–5.
- (ii.b) sea-shore the natural boundary = *Am.* 3.8.44 and *Met.* 1.96.
- (iii.a) no defences = *Am.* 3.8.47 (towers) and *Met.* 1.97 (ditches).
- (iii.b) no weapons = *Am.* 3.8.48 and *Met.* 1.99–100.
- (iv) no ploughing = *Met.* 1.101–2.

528–9 nullus . . . lapis: cf. *Virg. Geor.* 1.126–7 *ne signare quidem aut partiri limite campum | fas erat* (again, the golden age, *ante louem*), a passage quoted by S. in *Epist.* 90.37.

arbiter: the term is borrowed by *Stat. Theb.* 6.352–3 *saxeus umbo | arbiter agricolis*. *sacer* attaches to *lapis* as at *Prop.* 1.4.24.

531 Cf. *Med.* 331 *sua quisque piger litora tangens*. See 463n.

532 cinxerant: the pluperf. here and in the following lines (534, 539) is evidence of a growing tendency to use the tense imprecisely in conjunction with the imperf. and perf.; the pluperf. seems to lose its role

as the past tense of the perf. system. In early Latin this is found above all in subordinate clauses and with certain favoured verbs (e.g., *ut dixeram*). Some poets exploit the expanded use of the tense for metrical reasons (Fordyce on Catull. 64.158 *si tibi non cordi fuerant conubia nostra*, and Smith on Tibull. 2.5.79). In prose too rhythmical considerations occasionally recommend the pluperf. over the other past tenses. It is common in S. (B. Axelson, *Senecastudien* (1933) 43-5); a good example is found in *Epist.* 90.41: *arma cessabant incruentaeque humano sanguine manus odium omnes in feras uerterant* (var. lectio: *uerterunt*; the pluperf. effects a double cretic clausula). *Illi quos aliquod nemus densum a sole protexerat, qui ... sub fronde uiuebant, placidas transigebant ... noctes.*

latus 'flank' of a town; cf. Stat. *Theb.* 2.492-3 *urbis inclinare latus* (*TLL* VII 2.1028.57).

533-5 There were no wars in Virgil's golden age: *Geor.* 2.539-40.

533 manu: dat. (G-L 30, para. 61 n. 2; Austin on *Aen.* 1.156 *parce metu*; for this form of *manus* see *TLL* VIII 324.56).

535 ballista: a Roman engine of war, mentioned by Ovid in similes at *Met.* 11.509 and *Trist.* 1.2.48; for the anachronism see 352n.

535-6 It was generally believed that primitive man, like contemporary barbarian tribes, did not own property (cf. Ov. *Met.* 1.135-6 *communem ... prius ... humum*), a belief already alluded to in this unstructured speech at 529-30. Such peoples were also reckoned not to be agriculturalists.

537-8 Cf. *Epist.* 90.40 *terra ipsa fertilior erat inlaborata* (sc. in the golden age). The first line amalgamates elements from similar contexts in Virgil and in Ovid. *poscentes nihil transmutet nullo poscente* of Virg. *Geor.* 1.128 (cf. Ov. *Met.* 1.103 *nullo cogente*); *per se* is owed to Ov. *Met.* 1.102 *per se dabat omnia tellus*.

538 natiuas may be an allusion to the presence in Roman gardens of numerous imported fruit trees, for example those listed by the elder Pliny in *N.H.* 15. The chime of *natiuas* seems intentional but pointless (490n.).

539 antra: cf. *Epist.* 90.43 where caves as man's first shelter are called *secundum naturam domus* (see also Plin. *N.H.* 7.194 and Ov. *Met.* 1.121 *domus antra fuerunt*, but this was in his silver age).

540 Hippolytus now turns to man's first sin, which was often identified as greed (as at 527-8 *auri ... cupido*); cf. *Epist.* 90.3 *antequam societatem [= foedus here] auaritia distraxit*, *ibid.* 36 *auaritia atque luxuria*

dissociauerunt mortales, *ibid.* 38 *inrupit in res optime positas auaritia*. Ovid had listed *amor sceleratus habendi* at *Met.* 1.131 among the criminal tendencies of the iron age.

541 95n.

542–3 The consequence of greed is thirst for dominion over others (for *sitis* in this sense cf. *Lucr.* 3.1084 *sitis . . . uitai* and *Hor. Epist.* 1.18.23 *argenti sitis*); cf. *Epist.* 90.40 *nondum ualentior imposuerat infirmiori manum*.

544 esse: historical inf. (as perhaps is *bellare* in the next line); G–L 413, para. 647. The proverb ‘might is right’ was known to the Romans in several guises (Otto 192 s.v. *lex* 3); cf. *Ira* 3.2.1 [*barbari*] *quibus iura distinguit modus uirium*.

544–6 Cf. *Lucr.* 5.1283–6 *arma antiqua manus ungues dentesque fuerunt . . . posterius ferri uis est aerisque reperta*; and *Hor. Serm.* 1.3.101–2 *unguibus et pugnis, dein fustibus etc.*

545 nuda: 519n.

rudes: the branches were neither sharpened nor hardened in fire (cf. *Caes. B.G.* 7.73.6 *huc teretes stipites . . . praeacuti et praeusti demittebantur*), nor were they strengthened with metal.

546 uertere: perf. indic. as the metre requires.

547 cornus: cornel was used for spear shafts, cf. *Virg. Aen.* 5.557 *cornea . . . praefixa hastilia ferro* and *Geor.* 2.447–8 *bona bello | cornus*.

548 procul: this suggests that the crest is large enough to be seen from far away, but the expression of this idea is highly compressed, hence Axelson proposed *micantes*.

549 dolor ‘indignation’, cf. *Med.* 155 *leuis est dolor qui capere consilium potest* (*OLD* s.v. 3). For the sentiment cf. *Virg. Aen.* 7.508 *telum ira facit* and 1.150 *furor arma ministrat*.

551 mille formas mortis: cf. *Virg. Aen.* 2.369 *plurima mortis imago*: (see Austin *ad loc.*).

552 rubuit mare: cf. *Virg. Aen.* 8.695 *arua noua Neptunia caede rubescunt* and *Lucan* 2.713 *rubuit ciuili sanguine Nereus*.

553–8 This list of crimes within the home is modelled upon *Ov. Met.* 1.145–8, for which *Catull.* 64.399–404 was an inspiration.

556 ferro iacet: instrumental abl., cf. *Virg. Aen.* 1.99 *telo iacet Hector*.

557 fetus: used of human offspring by poets, e.g., *Tibull.* 2.5.91, *Ov. Am.* 2.14.5 *quae prima instituit teneros conuellere fetus*, a passage which suggests that Hippolytus too refers to abortion. (Of course the reference

could also be to the likes of Medea but in that case *natos* would have been the obvious word; its use at 555 would be no bar.)

558 taceo: a common rhetorical figure was the ostensible refusal to discuss what was deemed too well-known (cf. 563); one Greek name for the figure is παράλειψις; the Latin names, *omissio* and *praeteritio*, first appear in late sources. It has particular power at the end of a list.

mitius ... feris: this clause, which must offer a comment related specifically to stepmothers, has long caused difficulty since its most obvious sense is that 'there is nothing gentler than wild beasts'. The context however requires 'the very beasts are altogether gentler (than stepmothers)'. S. might have written either *melius ingenium est feris* (cf. Ov. *Am.* 2.10.26 *turpe erit, ingenium mitius esse feris*), or *nulla non melior fera est* (= *H.O.* 236). The desired sense is not to be found in the transmitted text, nor have emendations which stick closely to the paradosis proved satisfactory. The clause may therefore be severely corrupt. (Deletion, however, is too extreme; the sentiment, to be sure, is not congruent with Hippolytus' solicitude at 434, 608, 632-3, but S. is far from consistent in characterization.)

559-62 Horace had memorably declared that women were the cause of war at *Serm.* 1.3.107-8 *nam fuit ante Helenam cunus taeterrima belli | causa*; he might have had the opening pages of Herodotus in mind with their numerous tales of rape and retribution. S. subscribed to the view in his lost treatise, *De matrimonio*; cf. fr. 67 Haase *quidquid tragoediae tument et domos urbes regnaque subuertit, uxorum paelicumque contentio est* ('all the bombastic themes of tragedy, the overthrow of households, cities and kingdoms is but strife over wives and concubines').

560 obsedit animos: cf. Tac. *Dial.* 29.3 *obsessus animus* (*OLD* s.v. *obsideo* 5a).

563-4 sileantur ... reddet 'though nothing be said of others, yet will she make', a paratactic concessive sentence. The bald reference is appropriate to Hippolytus since it concerns his own father. When Medea left Corinth she came to Athens and married her protector Aegeus, by whom she had a son, Medus; to advance him she tried to poison Aegeus' supposed son, Theseus (Ov. *Met.* 7.402-7).

565 Cf. Ov. *A.A.* 3.9 *parcite paucarum diffundere crimen in omnes*.

566 The heaping up of verbs in asyndeton indicates intense emotion (Canter (1925) 170 and cf. *Med.* 507 *abdico eiuro abnuo* (Medea renounces

her sons)), though the sentiments are out of keeping with his later gentleness to Phaedra.

567 sit: anaphora and a tricolon crescendo accentuate the feeling of the speaker.

ratio: opposed by *furor*; *natura* ‘instinct’. As usual none of S.’s characters submits to reason, all either follow their instincts or succumb to passion. This motivation was inherent in the use of mythical themes among the Romans; a mythical hero or heroine was a sort of distillation of a particular attitude or emotion, untrammelled by normal conventions of prudence or restraint.

568 odisse ‘to have nothing to do with’; *odi* need not be as strong as ‘hate’ but corresponds sometimes to our colloquial ‘have no use for’ (Fordyce on Catull. 68.121; cf. 354n.).

568–73 To emphasize his feeling Hippolytus employs the traditional comparison founded upon impossibilities (now called *adynaton* from the Greek). S.’s use of the comparison is discussed by Canter (1925) 60–2 and more generally in the classic study by E. Dutoit, *Le thème de l’adynaton* (1936) 124–33. Here there is a mixture of things old and new. The incompatibility of water and fire is traditional (cf. *H.F.* 375 *pax ante fida niuibis et flammis erit*).

569 ante: 44n. The Syrtes, notorious shallows off the Libyan coast, had been mentioned in an *adynaton* by Propertius, 3.19.7 [*citius*] *placidum Syrtes portum* [*praebeat*].

570–1 Exchange of place for sunrise and sunset is traditional in *adynata*, cf. *H.F.* 373–4 *prius | extinguet ortus, referet occasus diem. Hesperia Tethys* = *H.F.* 1140 *Hesperii maris, Med.* 727 *Hesperia . . . maria*, the sea to the west of the Iberian peninsula.

572 Harmony between usually inimical beasts is also a common way of expressing impossibility. The exact sense of the line is hard to pin down. At *H.F.* 217 *angues ferebant ora* describes the serpents about to bite the infant Hercules; *ora . . . praebebunt* seems to describe a similar action (moving the face forward) but a different intention, perhaps licking or even suckling; cf. Lucan 6.487–8 *has* [Thessalian witches] *auidae tigres . . . ore fouent blando*.

575 aspice: a vivid introduction of a striking instance; cf. Virg. *Geor.* 2.114 *aspice et extremis domitum cultoribus orbem* and see Tarrant on *Thy.* 242 *Tantalum et Pelopum aspice*.

576 **feroces** 'defiant as they are'.

577 Opinions differed about the treatment of husbands and sons by the Amazons. The view given here finds support only in Justinus' abridgement of the near Eastern history of the Augustan writer Pompeius Trogus, 2.4.10 *si qui mares nascerentur, interficiebant*.

578–9 Hippolytus' sentiment is a rhetorical reworking of Eur. *Melanippe Bound*, fr. 500N² 'apart from my mother I hate the whole female sex'. The rhetorical quality is found in the teasing suspension of 578; it leaves the audience guessing what the one consolation for his mother's death may be (cf. 683n.).

580–2 The Nurse speaks aside; her similitude for immoveability is traditional and common, e.g., Virg. *Aen.* 7.586–90 and Fiordiligi's aria 'Come scoglio immoto resta' (Tarrant on *Ag.* 539). At the end of her aside an impasse has been reached which S. resolves with Phaedra's impatient but unmotivated return.

583–8 The Nurse describes what Phaedra and Hippolytus must be imagined to perform in dumb-show (cf. 705–8, 734). Such static narrative technique is alien to staged drama (Zwierlein (1966) 56–63).

583 **impatiens morae**: designed to account for Phaedra's return, but the Nurse can only be guessing at her motive.

584 **se dabit** 'turn out' (*OLD* s.v. *do* 21b).

585–6 375n.

587 **uocis moras** 'obstacles to speech'; cf. *Phoen.* 246 *uteri moras*.

588 **tuus ... Hippolytus**: the line is puzzling if stage action is imagined. Either it is meant to be heard only by Phaedra who is however in Hippolytus' arms, or Hippolytus is bound to wonder why he is *tuus* to Phaedra (the term is too warm for a stepson's relationship).

589 At Eur. *Hipp.* 247 Phaedra regretted her recovery of sense.

590 **excideram mihi** 'I lost control of myself'; cf. *Ira* 3.14.1 (*OLD* s.v. *excido*¹ 7).

592–9 Phaedra speaks aside to encourage herself. S.'s use of this stage convention is remarkable in that his asides can prove to be extraordinarily long (Tarrant (1978) 242–6; Fantham (1982) 41–2; Zwierlein (1966) 66–7); this one is designed to reveal the working of Phaedra's mind, but it would be implausible on stage, since Hippolytus could hardly fail to hear the woman he holds in his arms.

592 **aude, anime**: Senecan characters commonly incite their souls to action, or accuse them of laziness (Tarrant on *Ag.*, p. 195).

593 constant ‘remain under control’ (*OLD* s.v. 6b).

594–6 Phaedra’s self-encouragement is similar to that of Ovid’s Byblis at *Met.* 9.626–9 where she maintains that she has gone too far in criminal desire to stop or to retreat.

596 amauimus nefanda: cf. 699 and *H.O.* 357 *illicita amantur*.

598 Cf. *Ov. Her.* 2.85 *exitus acta probat* (Otto 126–7 s.v. *euentus* 2).

599–600 commodos ... aures: cf. *Hor. Epist.* 1.1.40 *si modo culturae patientem commodet aurem* and *Ov. Trist.* 5.12.53.

600 abeat: a pointless request, since Hippolytus had entered alone (425); the Nurse would also seem to be present, despite 601, unless she leaves here and suddenly returns at 719. The inadvertence may be due to recollection of *Ov. Met.* 14.370–1 where Circe saw to it that Picus was unattended before she set about seducing him.

601 arbitrio ‘observation’ (*OLD* s.v. 8); cf. *Cic. Ad Att.* 15.16a *loca ... ab arbitris libera*.

603 et ‘and yet’ (*OLD* s.v. 14); cf. 637.

605 An incomplete line completes the sense; others appear at *Tro.* 1103, *Phoen.* 319, and *Thy.* 100 (see Tarrant *ad loc.*). At *Thy.* 212 *quod nolunt uelint*, ‘let my subjects will what they do not want’, Atreus reverses Phaedra’s sentiment of split personality.

607 The sentiment that some misfortunes surpass our powers of grief is found in Herodotus’ story of Psammenitus, who explained to Cambyses that he could not weep at the degradation of his family because it was too personal, but that he could weep in sympathy for a friend (3.14.10); cf. *Tro.* 411–12 *lenia perpessae sumus, | si flenda patimur*.

608 mater: Hippolytus’ polite address gives Phaedra her cue, and a starting-place for her appeal. She will dwell upon the true identity of her relationship with him, what she is or would be to Hippolytus. She canvasses various options, holding off till her last word, *amantis* (671), her true wish. Phaedra’s desire to repudiate her actual relationship in favour of one that would license passion is borrowed by S. from Ovid’s heroine Byblis (*Met.* 9.454–665); she conceived a passion for her brother Caunus and so tried to redefine their tie (see next note).

611 Cf. *Ov. Met.* 9.466–7 *iam dominum adpellat, iam nomina sanguinis odit: | Byblida iam mauult quam se uocet ille sororem*. Byblis has no use for the names that point to family ties; she calls her brother ‘lord’ and prefers that he not call her ‘sister’ but use her given name. S.’s Phaedra is just as artful. She does not reply to Hippolytus’ *mater* with a corresponding

mi fili, but uses his given name. She asks him to consider her in a new light, either as sister or as serving-maid. Both terms, however, were part of lovers' language. *soror* is so used by Lygdamus at [Tibull.] 3.1.26 *siue sibi coniunx siue futura soror*; *famula*, on the other hand, skilfully hints that Phaedra, like Byblis, could call Hippolytus her 'lord' (*dominus*), an endearment (cf. Ov. *Am.* 3.7.11 *et mihi blanditias dixit dominumque uocauit* and the *Alexandrian Erotic Fragment* 27–8 'my lord, I am ready to serve eagerly').

612 *seruitium*: the theme of a lover's servitude to the beloved is found on the lips of Catullus' Ariadne, 64.161 *quae tibi iucundo famularer serua labore*, and Euripides' Andromeda, fr. 133N² 'lead me on, stranger, either as your servant or wife or maid'.

613 *per altas ... niues*: Ovid had taught that when a mistress says 'come', the lover must set out: *nec ... te ... tardet ... uia per iactas candida facta niues* (*A.A.* 2.229–32).

614 *Pindi*: a Thessalian range, traditionally cold; cf. *Med.* 384 *Pindi niualis*.

615 *ire*: sc. *me iubeas* from 613 (44n.). This test of loyalty is highly traditional; it is proposed by Ovid's Scylla in *Met.* 8.67 (see Hollis, and Housman on *Manil.* 4.577–8 *summa libido | ardentem medios animum iubet ire per ignes*).

618 Cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1.76–7 *tuus, o regina, quid optes | explorare labor; mihi iussa capessere fas est* (Aeolus to Juno). The line has been questioned because of the elision of the emphatic pronoun (Zwierlein (1984) 208; it is defended by Billerbeck (1988) 107–8).

imperia regere 'exercise sway'; < Virg. *Aen.* 1.340 *imperium Dido Tyria regit urbe profecta*; cf. *H.F.* 741 *incrumentum ... imperium regit* (*OLD* s.v. *rego* 10b).

619 *tutari*: an elevated word, suggesting impressive defence cf. *Ag.* 111 *et sceptrum casta uidua tutari fide*.

620 Cf. Virg. *Aen.* 7.162 *primaevum flore iuuentus*.

621 *imperio rege*: the similarity to 618 at such close quarters is inelegant; the phrases mean much the same (Munro on *Lucr.* 5.1130; cf. *Med.* 216).

622 *receptam ... tege*: 95n.

***sinu*:** Hippolytus is to take this metaphorically, 'protection' (cf. *Epist.* 103.4 *in philosophiam recede: illa te sinu suo proteget*; *OLD* s.v. 3); Phaedra means it literally of the lover's breast (cf. Catull. 37.11 *puella ... meo sinu fugit*; *OLD* s.v. 2); so Farnaby (1613).

seruam: not used in high poetry, which favours politer words, e.g., *famula*, to cloak the indignity of slavery. To use it of oneself is complete self-abasement (cf. Ariadne's words quoted at 612n.).

623 uiduae: another play on two senses of the word. *uiduus* can simply mean 'deprived of a partner' with no cause, e.g., death, specified (cf. 448n.). Hippolytus, however, takes it in the usual sense, 'widow'; Phaedra intends to suggest that his father will never return, and so invites Hippolytus to replace him.

omen: a characteristically Roman notion; a casual word, among other events, may affect the future (*RE* s.v. *omen* 'Das Wort' xviii 1.3173–6). Such ominous utterance must be acknowledged and averted: cf. *Oed.* 855 *procul sit omen. | uiuit et uiuat precor.*

624 actutum: only here in the tragedies; the word is found in republican drama but used sparingly by Virgil (*Aen.* 9.255) and by Ovid (*Met.* 3.557); S. follows them.

625 tenacis: cf. *H.F.* 678–9 *gradumque retro flectere haud umquam sinant | umbrae tenaces.*

tacitae Stygis: cf. *H.F.* 712–3 *alter quieto similis ... tacente sacram deuehens fluuio Styga.*

627 thalami 'wife' by metonymy; this sense is also appropriate to 1216 and to *H.F.* 427–8 *effare thalamis quod nouis potius parem | regale munus*, but is not noticed in *OLD* (Canter (1925) 132).

628 Phaedra indulges in a mythological quibble by alluding to Pluto's rape of Proserpina. Love's power over Pluto is also spoken of in *H.O.* 559–60 and *Oct.* 556 (cf. *Ov. Met.* 10.29, Moschus 1.14, Meleager *Anth. Plan.* 213 = *HE* 738–41).

nisi forte: this elliptical phrase tentatively suggests an alternative possibility (*OLD* s.v. *nisi* 2).

sedet: suggests the magistrate presiding at a trial (Tarrant on *Ag.* 730–1 *fatalis sedet | inter potentes arbiter pastor deas*).

629 aequi 'fair' because they will reward Theseus' loyalty to his friend (Farnaby (1613)).

dabunt 'will make', or 'cause to be'; cf. *Med.* 528 *demersos dabo* (*OLD* s.v. 24b).

632 merebor: cf. *Ag.* 286 *opibus merebor ut fidem pretio obligem*; the sense approaches to *efficiam* (*TLL* viii 805.6–13).

633 Decent Hippolytus walks into the trap and unwittingly plays Phaedra's game of reidentification of roles within the household.

634–5 Spoken aside.

635 admotis ‘bringing to bear’ (a timeless use of the perf. participle passive); cf. Ov. *Pont.* 3.7.36 *quam, quas admorint* (= *admouerint*), *non ualuisse preces* (OLD s.v. *admoueo* 7b).

636 tacitae: 362n.; the combination with *exaudi preces* may appear awkward but cf. Prop. 4.7.21 *foederis heu taciti, cuius fallacia uerba* along with the further examples cited by Shackleton Bailey *ad loc.* (To these examples add Lucan 5.104–5 *haud illic tacito mala uota susurro | concipiunt*, ‘in stealthy whisper’.) But if conjecture were necessary *tectae* would give satisfactory sense; the words are often confused by scribes (e.g., at Lucan 5.811, Ov. *Am.* 1.2.6).

637 -que: 603n.

638 cadere ‘be visited upon’ (OLD s.v. 16).

640–1 uapor amorque: hendiadys, ‘the heat of love’.

641–3 No lines in the play present greater difficulties to the editor. The text printed is Zwiernlein’s (1987); his commentary (1986) *ad loc.* gives a full discussion. The causes of uncertainty are these: neither tradition provides an acceptable text independently, E is contaminated from the A class and omits 642, which seems to be cobbled out of *Med.* 836. Sense can only be recovered by combining elements from each tradition and by adopting conjecture.

644 Phaedra’s simile for her passion recalls Lucr. 2.191–2 *ignes . . . celeri flamma degustant tigna trabesque*.

645 nempē ‘I suppose’, not ironical but seeking confirmation (OLD s.v. 3b). The dramatic weakness of this remark is that Phaedra has not described a chaste love in operation.

646–56 Phaedra sets out the issue in plain terms; *sic est* ‘it’s like this’ is colloquial, when preparing for a fuller statement. Phaedra praises the looks of her husband when he was young and claims to find those looks in his son. (Racine gets high praise for psychological insight from L. Spitzer in *Linguistics and literary theory* (1948) 98 for ascribing this sentiment to his Phèdre; of course Racine borrowed it from S., as perhaps did Apuleius as well, whose enamoured stepmother says to her stepson at *Met.* 10.3 *illius enim recognoscens imaginem in tua facie merito te diligo*.)

648 When Hermes disguised himself as a youth with his first beard, Homer allowed it was the most charming age (*Il.* 24.348, *Od.* 10.279). S. adapts Virg. *Aen.* 9.181 *ora puer prima signans intonsa iuuenta* and Ov. *Met.* 13.744 *signarat teneras molli lanugine malas*. (*signarat* is an emendation; there is no certain example of a subj. and indic. in the same *cum* clause.

For the substitution cf. Virg. *Geor.* 3.563 where the correct *temptarat* is in PR, but *temptaret* in M.)

649 caecam ‘dark’ (*OLD* s.v. 6); cf. Ov. *Ib.* 374 *caecae ... domus* of the Minotaur’s lair.

uidit ‘faced’; cf. Ag. 751 *iuuat uidere Tartari saeuum canem* (Shackleton Bailey 3).

651 quis: exclamatory, as at 1035; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4.10 *quis nouus hic nostris successit sedibus hospes* etc.

fulsit: used of physical beauty also at 1112; cf. Hor. *C.* 4.11.5 (*Phylli, ... est hederæ uis multa*) *qua crinis religata fulges*, and *fulgor* (770).

652 flauus ... pudor: ‘golden modesty’, an arresting phrase to describe a blush beneath the first down of the beard. S. is directly imitating Ovid, *Her.* 4.72 *flaua uerecundus tinxerat ora rubor*, which describes Hippolytus as first seen by Phaedra; *flaua ... ora* refers to his blond beard (blond is the colour for heroes; cf. Catull. 64.98 [*puellam*] *in flauo saepe hospite suspirantem*). S. has boldly transferred the colour-epithet *flauus* to the abstract noun *pudor*; and yet even here he had Ovidian precedents: cf. *Am.* 1.3.14 *purpureusque pudor* (= *Am.* 2.5.34) and *Am.* 1.8.35 *erubuit! decet alba quidem pudor ora*, where *pudor* means ‘a blush’. Behind the unusual phrase lies a complicated process of literary cross-reference (E. Laughton, *C.R.* 62 (1948) 109–11 and J. N. Bremmer, *Mnem.* 26 (1973) 180).

653 mollibus fortes: the juxtaposition enhances this voluptuous recollection of young ‘Theseus’ strength (21n.); Phaedra will find a similar paradox in Hippolytus’ face (660). In each case we may detect a decadent sensibility that likes to dwell upon the notion that soft and hard are found together. (Pacuvius had referred to the softness of Odysseus’ body, fr. 247R² *mollitudo corporis*; at Eur. *Hipp.* 605 the Nurse described Hippolytus’ arm as strong.)

654 tuae ... Phoebes: a reference to Diana; the young Theseus’ face was not yet so distinctively masculine that he could not pass for a mannish woman. The comparison to Phoebus (as the Sun he was Phaedra’s grandfather) is similar, for he was commonly represented as slightly effeminate in feature. S. here plays with the theme of the adolescent boy’s *ambiguus uultus* (see N–H on Hor. *C.* 2.5.24).

655 tuusue potius: Phaedra at last compares Theseus directly to his son.

655–6 talis ... caput: cf. *Tro.* 464–8 where Andromache com-

pares Astyanax to Hector in very similar language (e.g., *sic tulit fortes manus*).

656 hosti: Ariadne; the Athenians murdered her brother Androgeus and so a state of war existed between Athens and Crete. (An old interpretation, revived from time to time, is that the reference is to Minos' himself falling in love with Theseus; see Herter 1133.)

657 As Ovid had taught at *A.A.* 1.509-11 *forma uiros neglecta decet: Minoida Theseus | abstulit, a nulla tempora comptus acu; | Hippolytum Phaedra, nec erat bene cultus, amauit*; his Phaedra praised Hippolytus for his manly neglect of elegance at *Her.* 4.75-8.

658 tamen 'though he has some part of his fierce mother, still there is a combined attractiveness'; a concessive notion attaches to *toruae* ... *pars aliqua matris* (cf. 690n.).

660 rigor 'ruggedness', borrowed from Ov. *Her.* 4.73, 77.

663-6 Perhaps spoken aside, a plea for strength to make her final appeal.

663-4 quacumque ... fulges: S. offers a little-known variant of the popular myth. The usual version was that not Ariadne but her bridal crown had been turned into a constellation (*H.F.* 118 *mundus puellae sarta Cnosiaca gerit*). But Propertius had referred to this ambiguously at 3.17.7-8 *te [Bacchus] quoque enim non esse rudem testatur in astris | lyncibus ad caelum uecta Ariadna tuis*; in *astris* probably there means 'in heaven', the home of the gods (*TLL* s.v. *astrum* II 972-3) but it could suggest that she herself had been transformed. Ovid, who often reworked Propertian motifs, developed the ambiguity at *A.A.* 1.557-8 *caelo spectare sidus; saepe reget dubiam Cressa corona ratem* (cf. *Met.* 8.177-82 and *Fasti* 3.509-16 where only the crown is spoken of). The author of the *Lydia* (*App. Verg.*) refers simply at 49 to *notum Minoidis astrum*. S. has absorbed this tradition and reproduces it here for the pleasure of the learned reader (Roscher, *Lexicon* VI 895).

665 Cf. Ov. *Her.* 4.63. For *corripuit* see 116n.

666-7 The self-abasement of royal figures was the sort of pathetic scene in which S.'s age took special delight (Mayer on Lucan VIII, Introduction 20-4).

supplex: cf. Ov. *Her.* 4.149-50.

668-9 Cf. Dido's extenuation at Virg. *Aen.* 4.19 *huic uni forsitan potui succumbere culpa*. But Phaedra's claim to prior innocence is owed to Ov. *Her.* 4.17-8, 31-2.

668 intacta 'of spotless reputation' (*OLD* s.v. 4).

669 certa ‘resolved’ (*OLD* s.v. 10).

670 Cf. *Ag.* 987 *fratrem reddat aut animam* (Canter (1925) 163 n. 22).

671 amantis: the final word reveals the truth, an emotional step above the similar close to her first attempt at appeal, 623.

If it is correct to suppose that Phaedra’s direct assault upon Hippolytus had never before been staged, then this scene and speech are the play’s reason for existing (U. Moricca, cited in Introduction p. 6, n. 20). S. has composed an adroit speech for his heroine in which the dangerous issue of sexual desire is neatly hinted at behind a veil of comparisons and allusions. He has moreover successfully indulged his taste for literary rivalry (*aemulatio*) in going a step further than Ovid, whose Phaedra could not address Hippolytus directly but had to write a letter instead (*Her.* 4.7–10).

In addition to literary debts the scene owes something to Roman life. Sallust records of Sempronia at *Catil.* 25.3 *libido sic adcensa ut saepius peteret uiros quam peteretur*; Cicero suggested the same of Clodia at *Cael.* 36. Tacitus implies that Messalina took young Silius by storm (*Ann.* 11.12 *nam in C. Silium, iuuentutis Romanae pulcherrimum, ita exarserat ut Iuniam Silanam, nobilem feminam, matrimonio eius exturbaret, uacuoque adultero poteretur*). S. himself may have been seduced by the princess Livilla; he congratulates Marcia that her very beautiful son Metilius repelled the advances of immoral women (*Ad Marc.* 24.3). The imagined scene reflects experience.

671–83 Hippolytus’ ranting reply to Phaedra’s appeal is an exaggerated attempt at sublimity. He wants the universe to notice his plight and react appropriately – a characteristic of Senecan heroes. Hercules wants punishments similar to the ones listed here, but for killing his children (*H.F.* 1201–18); Thyestes begs Jupiter to thunder and lighten (*Thy.* 1077–87) for eating his. Their crimes were horrible but Hippolytus has done nothing commensurate with the punishments he proposes. (At least he is decent enough not to ask heaven to blast Phaedra.) S. appears unable to invent a more plausible reaction for him.

676–7 The normal direction of the stars’ movement was reckoned to be from east to west; Hippolytus wants the sky to reverse its direction and the stars to abandon their normally straight paths; cf. *H.F.* 1332–3 *astra transuersos agunt | obliqua cursus*.

677 caput ‘being’; cf. *H.F.* 1334–5 *o fidum caput, | Theseu* (*OLD* s.v. 7).

678–9 Cf. *Med.* 28–30 where Medea, the Sun’s granddaughter,

wonders how he can look on her misfortunes; he ought to go back on his course. In both passages the allusion is to the Sun's horror at Thyestes' meal, when he ate his children (cf. *Thy.* 789–93).

678 Titan: a vogue-word for the sun among post-Augustan poets (Canter (1925) 132–3 and Tarrant on *Ag.* 908).

683 Hippolytus' sense of guilt is expressed so as to puzzle; the audience must wonder how he can be at fault – the next line provides the solution (cf. 578–9n.). The beautiful Metilius blushed as if his attracting bad women were a sin (*Ad Marc.* 24.3).

684 en: emphasizes the sarcastic question; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.346 *en haec promissa fides est?* (OLD s.v. 2e).

685 solus: Hippolytus picks up what Phaedra said at 66g and takes her compliment as an insult.

686 materia 'something', a favourite word of Ovid's; cf. *A.A.* 1.49 *materiam longo qui quaeris amori* 'something to love for a long time'.

rigor 'severity'; again he picks up a word of Phaedra's, because it contrasts with *facilis*.

687 uincens 'surpassing'; cf. *Ag.* 169 *o scelera semper sceleribus uincens domus* (OLD s.v. 9).

688 Cf. *Med.* 362 *maiusque mari Medea malum* and see Fantham on *Tro.* 426.

monstrifera: the obvious reference is to the Minotaur, but Hippolytus regards Phaedra too as a horror of perversity (Friedrich (1933) 145–6).

689 Again the audience is provoked to ask itself how Phaedra can be worse than Pasiphae. The answer is not precisely spelled out and S. only hints at the truth with *tantum*: the bull was innocent, but Hippolytus, an answerable man, was invited to implicate himself in guilt. This is an example of the fashionable *sententiae suspiciosae* ['teasing'], *in quibus plus intellegendum esset quam audiendum* (*Epist.* 114.1).

690 tamen 'though long concealed, her crime was yet manifested by her child'; a concessive notion attaches to *tacitum diu* (cf. 658n.).

691 biformi ... nota: descriptive abl.

693 ambiguus 'hybrid' (OLD s.v. 5a, an Ovidian sense).

695 hausit 'gouged'; the sense derives from the notion that the blood is drawn off through the wound thus made (OLD s.v. *haurio* 3; Tarrant on *Ag.* 890).

696 odium dolusque: Hippolytus' thought is complicated. He blesses those who died through the hatred and guile of others; he, on the other hand, lives to face the love, openly declared, of his stepmother.

697 Another *suspiciosa sententia* (689n.); Medea, the stepmother of Theseus, had merely tried to kill him with poison (*dolus*) out of hatred (*odium*); far worse is this seduction.

698 Cf. 113.

699 **petimus:** the plural includes Pasiphae and Ariadne since both sought unsuitable lovers.

701 **amnes, unda quos torrens rapit:** the ‘torrent stream’ is the river. This is an example of the verbal indiscipline endemic in Silver Latin poetry; it is well illustrated by Shackleton Bailey 34 (cf. 830, 990, 1006, 1098–9 and 1237). Cf. Virg. *Geor.* 3.243–4 (of horses driven by lust) *non scopuli rupesque cauae atque obiecta retardant | flumina correptosque unda torquentia montis.*

703 Phaedra must be supposed to have risen from her knees during Hippolytus’ tirade.

704–9 Hippolytus’ response to the supplication is disturbing; instead of running away at once this athletic young man decides to kill an unarmed woman. The wish to avoid contact with the suppliant is reasonable (cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 606 ‘take your hand away, don’t touch my cloak’), but pointed in the Senecan way (*impudicos . . . casto*).

705 **quid hoc est:** the common phrase announces a surprising or unwelcome situation (Tarrant on *Ag.* 868).

etiam: reinforces his shocked alarm (*OLD* s.v. 3c and Tarrant on *Ag.* 983).

705–8 The convention of the ancient stage was that no action passed unremarked; entrances and exits, rising and sinking, taking or receiving are plainly indicated in the poetic text (exclusively marginal directions are a very recent convention). Somehow S. has to make plain how and why Hippolytus draws his sword; judgement on this passage has been severe: ‘pedantic thoroughness’ (Tarrant on *Ag.* 788); ‘farcical if acted’ (Fantham (1982) 41).

707 **impudicum:** the repetition after 704 is unwelcome.

707–8 Cf. *Tro.* 46–7 *laeua* [Gronovius for *saeua* A] *manu | coma reflectens regium torta caput.*

708–9 The conceit that murder can be a sort of sacrifice is common in the plays; cf. *H.F.* 920–4 (Hercules’ ‘sacrifice’ of the tyrant Lycus), *Med.* 970–1 (one child as an offering to Absyrtus). Diana’s altar is on the stage (405n.)

iustior . . . sanguis ‘blood more justifiably shed’; cf. *H.F.* 484 *bibere iustum sanguinem Busiridis.*

709 arquitenens: cf. Ov. *Met.* 1.441 *deus arquitenens*.

712 immoriar: a sexual pun, perhaps, like the older English ‘die’. *pereo* commonly described languishing for love, and *morior* could describe exhaustion (e.g., Prop. 1.10.5–6 *te complexa morientem, Galle, puella | uidimus*; *TLL* s.v. *morior* VIII 1494.42–7). *immorior* suggests a ‘Liebestod’, but a chaste one (*saluo . . . pudore*).

714 Cf. Ag. 423 *iamque ense fessum miles exonerat latus*.

715–18 At Eur. *Hipp.* 653–4 the young man wanted simply to wash out his ears. This passage, however, is indebted to Soph. *O.R.* 1227–8 where the Messenger reckons that neither Ister nor Phasis could wash away the crimes of Labdacus’ house (but Propertius is an important link in the chain, 3.24.10 *eluere aut uasto Thessala saga mari*). Similar lines are found in *H.F.* 1323–9, the source of Shakespeare, *Macbeth* II.ii.60 ‘will all great Neptune’s ocean wash this blood clean from my hand?’. Here the choice of bodies of water is not casual, but rises in a crescendo. Tanais is a river (the Don); it flows into a larger body of water, the inland sea, Maeotis (the sea of Azov) – both suggest his mother’s territory (cf. 401); finally he names the sea.

Two different judgements on the debt of S. to Sophocles have been offered. Jebb regards the hyperbole as more appropriate to the suffering Hippolytus than to the messenger who was only an observer; Braden (1985) 50 urges that S.’s characters preempt the world’s right to judge them and use hyperbole as a mark of their pride in the terribleness of their state. It is difficult to accept either of these interesting positions, since S. has repeated himself using much the same terms for characters in morally incommensurable situations. The same hyperbole is applied with too little discrimination, and what Braden says is truer of S.’s Hercules than of his Hippolytus (cf. 671–83n.).

716 incumbens ‘rushing into’ (*TLL* VII 1.1073.79–80).

717 pater: Neptune (cf. *Oed.* 266, Ag. 553). Permanence is often indicated by stating that all the water in the sea could not eradicate the dye or crime (cf. Lucr. 6.1076–7, Catull. 88.5–6).

718 tantum .. sceleris: the sole example in S. of *tantum* used as a noun with a partitive gen. (*OLD* s.v. 1b).

o siluae, o ferae: this affecting cry recalls that of the distraught Philoctetes, who has no one to appeal to and so addresses ‘ye creeks and headlands, wild creatures of the hills with whom I dwell, steep cliffs’ (Soph. *Phil.* 936–7).

719–35 This scene precipitates the catastrophe. Yet despite its importance to the plot S.'s indifference to dramatic coherence is plain in a number of details. First, the Nurse's decision to incriminate Hippolytus, an unheard aside, is without express motive. A competent dramatist is concerned to account for the actions he sets in motion; that is part of his skill. Euripides in his *Hippolytus* had the young man swear an oath offstage to reveal nothing of the Nurse's proposition (611). But so shocked was he by it that he suggested he was not oath-bound after all (612 'my tongue has sworn, my heart remains unsworn'); later, however, he guarantees his silence (656–8). Despite this, Phaedra has doubts (689–92) and, once again resolved on death, she must devise a scheme to clear herself and secure her children's well-being in case Hippolytus break his oath (715–18); hence her posthumous accusation. None of this reappears in S., who probably takes it for granted that prudence motivates the Nurse to charge Hippolytus before he charges the women (*ultro* 720); none the less no grounds have been established for the step the Nurse takes. That it is the Nurse rather than Phaedra who devises the trick is, however, a good way of making the queen less odious. (Ovid had left the motive unresolved at *Met.* 15.502 *indiciine metu magis offensane repulsae?*)

A second deficiency was noted by H.E. Butler in *Post-Augustan poetry* (1909) 47–8, namely the actual duping, which S. needlessly reverts to at 824–8. The Nurse summons Athenian citizens as witnesses of Phaedra's state (725–6). But what are they to do? They are not told to chase Hippolytus or stop him from leaving Athens. It looks as if they are simply to recall what they have seen in case Theseus should ever return and somehow or other hear about the feigned rape. But, most surprisingly, the Chorus, who cannot be the Athenians summoned at 725 and ought not to have heard the Nurse's reflections, do not believe in Phaedra's charade (S. moreover does not account for her persisting in the charade once it has made its impact on the witnesses). They denounce it as a trick in plain terms (828).

A third defect is Phaedra's suicide attempt, spoken of by the Nurse at 854–5. Once again no motive for this has been established. The Phaedra of Euripides resolved to die early on (400–2) and as soon as she heard the commotion in the house her resolution returned (*Hipp.* 599–600); no appeals dislodge her decision. S.'s Phaedra leaves the stage in great agitation (734) but the unconvincing charade witnessed by the Chorus

(824-8) does not suggest a person bent on self-destruction; rather she appears to be getting ready to deceive someone, who opportunely turns up, her husband Theseus. (Of course she cannot have known that he would return at this moment; once again Euripides had thought this point over, and so designed it that Theseus should be away only briefly on a sacred embassy; cf. *Hipp.* 792, 807.) The plain inference must be that the suicide attempt is also part of the trick (*mori se uelle fingit*, says Farnaby (1613) on 872). But the trick as a whole lacks motive just because the immediate return of Theseus could not have been predicted.

The plotting is at this point inconsistent (Barrett 39), and the confusion could largely have been avoided if only the Chorus did not comment adversely on Phaedra's feigned rape. Her attempted suicide would in that case have appeared genuine enough, and the fortuitous return of Theseus would not have been objectionable. It can only be assumed that S.'s interest in dramatic form is fitful, and that he uses excited language and rapid events to paper over the cracks in his construction.

719 *segnis*: a common reproach levelled by S.'s characters at themselves for failing to act wickedly; cf. *Ag.* 108 *quid, segnis anime, tuta consilia expetis?*

720 *regeramus* 'let us cast back upon' (*OLD* s.v. 3); as Ovid has Hippolytus-Virbius describe it at *Met.* 15.502, *crimine uerso*.

721 *scelere uelandum est scelus*: a common sentiment, cf. *Ag.* 115 *per scelera semper sceleribus tutum est iter*, *Clem.* 1.13.2 *scelera enim sceleribus tuenda sunt*.

725 *adeste, Athenae*: cf. Livy 3.44.7 (the rape of Verginia by Appius Claudius) *pauide puella stupente, ad clamorem nutricis fidem Quiritium inplorantis fit concursus*.

Athenae 'Athenians', as at 1191; cf. Ov. *Met.* 7.507 '*ne petite auxilium, sed sumite*,' *dixit, 'Athenae*'.

726 *nefando ... stupro*: dat. with *instat*, 'presses on with' (*OLD* s.v. 8). The transmitted *nefandi ... stupri* does not yield acceptable Latin.

727 *instat premitque*: cf. Quint. *Inst.* 4.1.67 *pressit atque institit*.

***mortis intentat metum*:** cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1.91 *intentant omnia mortem*.

731 *tractus* 'pulled out'; cf. Apul. *Met.* 5.11 *comam trahentes* (*OLD* s.v. 11). The usual word is *scindere*. Torn hair was a commonplace of elegiac brawls between lovers (cf. Tibull. 1.10.53 *scissosque capillos* with Smith's note, and Ach. Tat. 5.3.6, a picture of Philomela with torn hair and rumpled clothes).

732 remaneant: how long does the Nurse want her mistress to remain dishevelled? The playwright knows of, and implausibly anticipates, the return of Theseus.

733 perferte ‘take the news’; cf. Calp. Sic. 3.93 *perfer et exora* (OLD s.v. 2).

734 The Nurse relates what is happening on stage (cf. 583–8n.).

725 The act closes with a monostichic *sententia*; cf. Publ. Syr. 710 Meyer *uoluntas impudicum, non corpus facit* (215n.). The central notion is that purity is a matter of disposition; Euripides’ Phaedra had difficulty in conveying this notion, which was novel in fifth-century Athens (*Hipp.* 317); it is a commonplace for S., cf. *Oed.* 1019 *nemo fit fato nocens*, i.e., guilt is the result of a willed act, not a destined misfortune or accident (here *casus*).

CHORUS II

736–823 The Chorus have observed Hippolytus’ flight, and sing in sapphic hendecasyllables of his beauty and the dangers it has brought.

737 A free adaptation of Hor. C. 1.16.23–4 *agente nimbos ocior Euro* (part of a stanza whose authenticity is sometimes doubted).

739 uentis agitata: at *N.Q.* 1.14.5 S., whose keen interest in natural science is betrayed here, says that comets are wind-driven, *uento . . . impellitur*.

741–60 The Chorus compare Hippolytus to beautiful gods. A similar section is included in the marriage hymn in *Med.* 82–9 in which Jason is compared to Bacchus, Apollo and the Dioscuri (praise of the bridegroom’s beauty is traditional, cf. Catull. 189–92 *at, marite, . . . | nihilo minus | pulcher es, neque te Venus | neglegit*).

743–8 The beauty of the moon as a standard of comparison is found in Sappho, fr. 96.6–9 *PLF* in which a girl excels the Lydian women as the moon excels the stars once the sun has set.

748 tenent . . . faciem ‘maintain their appearance’, a neat phrase to describe the fading of the stars; cf. Hor. *Ep.* 15.2 (*fulgebat luna*) *inter minora sidera*, C. 1.12. 47–8 *inter ignes | luna minores*, Ov. *Her.* 18.71–2 *quantum, cum fulges radiis argentea puris, | concedunt flammis sidera cuncta tuis* (the comparison is to a woman’s superior beauty) and S. *Med.* 96–8.

749–52 A star as the standard of beauty is found in Hom. *Il.* 6.401 (Astyanax), Callim. fr. 67.8Pf. (Acontius and Cydippe), Hor. C. 3.9.21

sidere pulchrior. The model here is Virg. *Aen.* 8.587–91 where Pallas is compared to Lucifer fresh from his bath in Ocean (cf. Hor. *C.* 3.19.26 *puro te similem, Telephe, uestpero*). The moon and Lucifer are combined, as here, by Ovid at *Met.* 2.722–3 to describe the beauty of Herse.

750 nuntius noctis: cf. *Med.* 877 *dux noctis Hesperus*.

752 Lucifer idem: though the planet Venus is either the morning or the evening star, some poets liked to fancy that the evening star of one day became the morning star of the next (Catull. 62.35 *Hesperere, mutato ... nomine Eous*); this is an error (Tarrant on *Ag.* 819). S. appears to have reversed Cinna fr. 6 Morel *te matutinus flentem conspexit Eous | et flentem paulo uidit post Hesperus idem*.

753–60 The metre changes to asclepiad as the Chorus introduce Bacchus for comparison.

753 thyrsigera: the thyrsus was the ivy-decked wand borne by Bacchic followers. India is said to carry it as token of its submission to Bacchus (here called *Liber*, a native Italian god of vegetation). Bacchus' eastern conquests (cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 13–22) were extended to India only after Alexander's victories there (Arrian, *Ind.* 7.4–5, an account based on Metasthenes of Chios). The god's Indian triumph was a popular artistic theme with its tiger-drawn chariots (cf. 755). A fine mosaic at Hadrumetum (Sousse) gives an idea of the treatment (R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *Rome (the late empire)* (1971) pl. 215).

754 intonsa ... coma: descriptive abl.; cf. *Oed.* 416 *effusos ... crines*. Bacchus was commonly represented as an ephebe with uncut hair (cf. 802).

perpetuum: adverbial with *iuuenis* (= *perpetuo*) (cf. Stat. *Silu.* 1.1.99 *utere perpetuum (munere)*).

755 pampinea cuspid: cf. Ov. *Her.* 13.33 *pampinea ... hasta*. **territans** is an exaggeration characteristic of Senecan fancifulness. (It has seemed so inappropriate that Zwierlein (1987) accepts Axelson's neat conjecture, *temperans*.) Bacchus is said to frighten his tigers with the thyrsus because it takes more to tame them than horses.

756 mitra: an eastern cap (whence 'mitre') worn by Bacchus; cf. *Oed.* 413 *caput Tyria cohibere mitra* (Pease on Virg. *Aen.* 4.216, p. 236b).

cornigerum: the horns with which Bacchus' head was depicted in the Hellenistic age may refer to the bull as one of his cult objects; references to them are common (N–H on Hor. *C.* 2.19.29 *aureo cornu*).

757 rigidas ... comas: cf. Ov. *Met.* 13.765 *iam rigidos pectis rastris*,

Polypheme, capillos. Hippolytus does not take to the comb and curling-tongs like some dandies of the day; cf. Ov. *A.A.* 1.505 *sed tibi nec ferro placeat torquere capillos* (S. in *De matrimonio* fr. 51 denounces the *procurator calamistratus* in a matron's retinue).

758 ne ... suspicias 'lest you grow vain, (let me tell you that)', not a prohibition, but a final clause giving the writer's reason for what is said in the main clause. Such elliptical final clauses commonly come first in the sentence (Roby para. 1660, K–S II 233–4, H–S 535, *OLD* s.v. *ne* 13).

759–60 The Chorus claim to be about to refer to a well-known myth (*fabula*), but the version offered was not exactly current. The tale of Ariadne, as known from Catullus to Hofmannsthal, and as alluded to by S. himself at *Oed.* 448–90, runs thus: the girl fled Crete with her lover Theseus who abandoned her on Naxos; there Bacchus found and married her. But another version of the story was that Ariadne had already married Bacchus on Crete and then eloped with Theseus; she was slain on Dia by Artemis on Bacchus' evidence. The Chorus say that this story is known the world over because the version appears in Hom. *Od.* 11.321–5 and is alluded to by Eur. *Hipp.* 339, classic works. (Only Barrett has seen that S. has this variant version in mind; commentators on *Phaedra* have missed the point.) S. used this version because Phaedra had said how like the young Theseus Hippolytus was; it follows that he too will surpass Bacchus in attractiveness.

761–76 The metre changes to dactylic tetrameters (761–3) and then reverts to asclepiad (764–76), as the Chorus remark upon beauty's brief span, a common topic.

761 Cf. Ov. *A.A.* 2.113 *forma bonum fragile est*.

763 Cf. Tibull. 1.8.48 *non tardo labitur illa [aetas] pede* and Ov. *A.A.* 3.65 *cito pede labitur aetas*.

764 sic: i.e., 'so swiftly'.

767 breuibus ... rotis: short summer nights hasten on 'short wheels', a bold metonymy (Canter (1925) 129); cf. *H.F.* 180 *rota praecipitis uertitur anni*, *Oed.* 252 *qui tarda celeri saecula euoluis rota*. ('The wheels of the chariots of celestial bodies is a different image.)

768 folio 'petal' (*OLD* s.v. 3; cf. older English's use of 'leaf' for 'petal'); *folio ... pallido* is a descriptive abl.

lilia: cf. Ov. *A.A.* 2.115 *nec ... semper ... hiantia lilia florent* (of beauty's brevity).

769 gratae ... rosae: cf. Ov. *A.A.* 3.68 *grata corona*. The rose was

the favoured flower for crowns, so its fading is particularly poignant. The comparison of dying flowers, especially lily and rose, to passing beauty is a commonplace (Smith on Tibull. 1.4.19, p. 274).

770-1 Cf. Ov. *A.A.* 3.74 *et perit in nitido qui fuit ore color*.

772 Proverbial (Otto 141).

774 *dum licet*: a common phrase in such reminders (N-H on Hor. *C.* 2.11.16, an ode S. appears to be fond of, cf. 393, 394nn.).

utere: cf. Ov. *A.A.* 3.65 *utendum est aetate*.

755-6 Again proverbial (Otto 113 s.v. *dies* 3).

777-94 The Chorus address the fleeing Hippolytus to warn him that his beauty cannot be hidden from appreciative eyes even in remote places; myth provides examples. The asclepiad metre continues.

779 *medium* 'when the Sun has fixed his light at mid-point', predicate of *diem*. The afternoon siesta was a dangerous time for lone individuals; Io, for example, was encouraged to seek the shade, to her cost (Ov. *Met.* 1.590-2). That a man was at risk is shown in a bizarre sculptural relief in E. Vermeule, *Aspects of death* (1979) 155 fig. 8.

780 *turba licens, Naides improbae*: the appositional phrase precedes its reference. This artificial pattern was favoured by Ovid (Bömer on *Met.* 13.401 *ut referat Tirynthia tela sagittas*); cf. 305 and 1105nn. and Tarrant on *Ag.* 800.

licens = *lascivus*, cf. Prop. 4.1.26 *unde licens Fabius sacra Lupercus habet*.

Naides improbae: the phrase is found in Petron. 83.3, also used of the Hylas legend; cf. *Med.* 647-9 *raptus, heu, tutas puer inter undas*. Hylas was the favourite of Hercules on the Argonautic expedition. While fetching water from a spring he was snatched away by the nymphs.

781 *solitae*: 92n.

783 *deae*: the Dryads, who ravished Hylas according to Propertius (1.20.45-7).

784 Pan was sometimes regarded as the lover of Daphnis (Roscher, *Lexicon* III 1453); he is depicted chasing a youth on a crater (J. Boardman, *Athenian red-figure vases: the archaic period* (1975) ill. 335.1).

785 Cf. 309-16.

786 That the Arcadians were 'proselenic', i.e., older than the moon, was part of the learning of Hellenistic poets (Pfeiffer on Callim. fr. 191.56 = *Iamb.* 1); their apt student Ovid brought the notion to Roman poetry (Bömer on *Fasti* 1.469-70); cf. *H.O.* 1884 [*Arcades*] *nondum Phoebe nascente genus*.

787 currus ‘horses’, a usage first found in Virg. *Geor.* 1.514 (*OLD* s.v. 1); cf. 1063 and 1092.

789 sordidior: the comparative is chosen to fit the metre.

791 421n. Here the reference is to eclipse.

792 tinnitus dedimus: the counter-magic of beating brass together is commonly referred to (e.g., Tibull. 1.8.22 *si non aera repulsa sonent*; see Roscher, *Lexicon* s.v. ‘Mondgöttin’ II 2.3166).

dedimus ‘produced’ (*OLD* s.v. 25).

labor ‘cause of eclipse’, a somewhat extended sense; cf. Virg. *Geor.* 2.478 *lunaeque labores* (Canter (1925) 130 and *TLL* VII 2. 795.43).

794 uias ‘journeys’ (*OLD* s.v. 4).

795–7 uexent ... appetat ... lucebit: 469n.

hanc faciem ... haec ... facies: anaphora with an elegant alteration of case in the second member.

797 Cf. Hor. *C.* 1.19.6 [*Glyceræ nitor*] *splendentis Pario marmore purius*. The whiteness of the marble of the island of Paros had been extolled since Pindar’s time by poets. The praise of Hippolytus’ beauty is adroitly managed. As a virile hunter he is tanned by sun and wind; a tan was desirable in a man: cf. Ov. *A.A.* 1.513 *fuscentur corpora Campo*. But the Chorus hint that without the tan his complexion would be dazzling.

799 ueteris ... supercili: the eyebrow indicates temper or mood (*OLD* s.v. 2) and *ueteris* suggests a gravity beyond his years. Apuleius, in his story of the lustful stepmother, describes the stepson as coming to her room *senili tristitie striatam gerens frontem*, *Met.* 10.3. Both S. and Apuleius are using the ‘boy and old man’ commonplace; cf. E. R. Curtius, *European literature and the Latin middle ages* (English translation, 1953) 98–101.

800 Phoebos: an abbreviated comparison, standing for *Phoebi collo*: cf. 1147.

colla ... splendida: admirable as a tan might be, a white neck was also prized in a man; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 8.660 *lactea colla* (of Gaulish warriors on the shield of Aeneas), Ov. *Met.* 3.422 and 4.335 *eburnea colla*.

801 nescia ‘unable’, a useful poeticism (*OLD* s.v. 3)

802 perfundens umeros: the length of Apollo’s hair is always mentioned; cf. *Oed.* 499 *infusis umero capillis*. Like Bacchus he never cuts it (cf. 754).

803–4 Hippolytus is indifferent to the niceties of barbering; his hair is simply cropped and uncombed. In *Epist.* 5.2. S. complains of the

intonsum caput et negligentiore barbam of ostentatious gurus, but in *Breu. Vit.* 12.3 he castigates the idle who are busied with comb and mirror (a fascinating passage). Closely cropped hair was a sign of philosophic youth; cf. Pers. 3.54 *detonsa iuuentus*, Juv. 2.15 *supercilio breuior coma*.

nulla lege iacens: adapted from [Ov.] *Epist. Sapph.* (= *Her.* 15) 73 *ecce iacent collo sparsi sine lege capilli*; cf. Ov. *Her.* 4.77.

804–6 With *audeas* understand *vincere*, with *vincere audeas* (44n.).

806 spatium of extent of the body is especially Ovidian, e.g., *Met.* 2.671–2 *crescit et oris et colli spatium* (Bömer on *Met.* 3.195 *dat spatium collo*).

807 nam: the postponement of the connective to third place is noteworthy; this poetic practice was introduced by the neoterics on Hellenistic models (Fordyce on Catull. 23.7 for *nam*), and had become poetic word order by S.'s day (cf. 14, 239nn.).

iuuenis: 'young as you are, you none the less . . .'; a concessive notion attaches to the word.

809–19 The list of Hippolytus' sporting skills closely resembles Ov. *Her.* 4.79–84. Both lists begin with riding, then mention spear-casting; Ovid's closes with the use of the hunting-spear, S.'s with archery.

809–11 libeat . . . poteris: 469n.

810 Castorea . . . manu: a literary tease. At *Geor.* 3.90 Virgil introduced the horse Cyllarus to Latin verse, but as belonging to Pollux; S. knows that Pollux, however, is a boxer, so gives the horse back to Castor instead (cf. Hom. *Il.* 3.237 'Castor tamer of horses and Polydeuces good at boxing', Hor. *C.* 1.12.15–7 *puerosque Ladae | hunc equis, illum superare pugnis | nobilem* and *Serm.* 2.1.26–7 *Castor gaudet equis, ouo prognatus eodem | pugnis*). (The tradition that Cyllarus belonged to Castor is found in Stesichorus, fr. 178 *PMG*; cf. Val. Fl. 1.426, Mart. 8.21.5–6; it seems to be alluded to at Ov. *Met.* 12.401 *Castore dignus eras*, said of the Centaur named Cyllarus.)

812–15 tende . . . non mittent: a paratactic conditional sentence, in which the protasis is an imperative (cf. 469n.); the construction is found in Plautus and in Cicero, and it is especially favoured by Ovid (*G L* 379, para. 593.4; *H–S* 657; see also Summers (1910) lxiv and Courtney's index to Juvenal s.v. 'parataxis').

812 ammentum: the thong was not known in heroic times; it was used to improve the accuracy of the cast by putting spin on the spear as it left the hand (like rifling in a gun barrel).

prioribus 'tips' of the second and third fingers (the Loeb translation, 'first fingers', i.e., thumb and forefinger, is incorrect, and yet it is

adopted in *OLD* s.v. *prior* 1c; see instead *TLL* v 1.1127.49); the use of the thong is illustrated in D–S s.v. *amentum* 1 116–7.

814 dociles = *docti*, as at Hor. *Epist.* 1.2.64–5 *figit equum tenera docilem ceruice magister | ire uiam* (*OLD* s.v. 3).

815 Cretes: the quantity of the Greek nom. pl. is retained. The Cretans were among the most famous archers of antiquity.

816 modo ... Parthico: not an allusion to the infamous ‘Parthian shot’, made by retreating horsemen (Xen. *Anab.* 3.3.10), but to the practice of the whole archery troop, which aimed into the sky and let the arrows drop at random on to the mass of troops below, cf. Lucan 7.514–16 *nusquam rexere sagittas, | sed petitur solus qui campis imminet aer. | inde cadunt mortes*. It is an exaggeration to suppose an individual could perform this feat, nor would it really be a compliment to his aim.

820–4 The last short section contains a warning (cf. Juv. 10.289 for a similar sentiment). S. may have recalled the fate of Silius, whose beauty was his undoing (see Tacitus quoted at 671n.), or of Metilius, whose death kept his beauty unspotted (cf. *Ad Marc.* 22.2).

821 melior ‘kindlier’.

822–3 formaque ... imaginem ‘and may your remarkable beauty present an appearance of ugly old age’; this is a compressed allusion to Ov. *Met.* 15.538–9 *utque forem tutus ... addidit* [sc. Diana] *aetatem*, where Hippolytus, transformed to the elderly Virbius, explains how his patroness rescued him after death and aged him so that he might escape further notice. Here the Chorus pray that the aging process may appear to happen on the spot and so preserve Hippolytus.

824–8 The Chorus now speak in iambics. They revert apparently to the departure of Phaedra at 734 *te ... lacerans*; the length of the description here suggests that they are witnessing an interior scene in which the Queen continues to disfigure herself (but how they see this is left unclear; Zwierlein (1966) 43–4). Moreover they somehow know that the whole charade is a fraud (the Nurse’s decision to incriminate Hippolytus was an unheard aside, 719–24; see F. Leo, ‘Die Composition der Chorlieder Senecas’, *Rh. M.* 52 (1897) 512).

827 turbat: of dishevelled hair, the verb is especially common in Ovid; cf. *Am.* 3.2.75 *ne turbet toga mota capillos*, *A.A.* 2.169 *dominae turbasse capillos*, *Met.* 8.859.

828 fraude feminea: a common motif in the tragedies; see Tarrant on *Ag.* 116 *femineos dolos*.

829–34 The Chorus announce a new arrival, Theseus.

830 alto uertice: a descriptive abl. with *caput*, but redundant in expression (701n.), since *uertex* and *caput* are the same; cf. Prop. 4.9.21 *sicco torquet sitis ora palato* (where palate and mouth are the same).

831 iuueni ... Pittheo = Theseus, whose maternal grandfather was Pittheus, king of Trozen (54n.).

832 pallore canderent: the time spent in the Underworld has caused his manly tan to fade. The condition is elliptical, and the true apodosis has to be understood: the man looks like Theseus (and would be he), were it not for his unusual pallor.

833 staret ... squalor: an arresting phrase, for it is the hair that stands erect in its unkempt condition. Here *squalor* is made the subject of the sentence, and *recta ... coma* is a descriptive abl. This reversal of syntactical function is sometimes called hypallage.

ACT III

836 polum: cf. *H.F.* 607 *deterior polus* and 1105 *atri regina poli*; the Underworld is located at the South Pole (Tarrant on *Ag.* 756 *terga nigrantis poli*).

837 The conceit that someone coming from the dark of the Underworld into the light of day blinks was devised by Ovid; at *Met.* 7.411-12 Hercules drags up Cerberus *contraque diem radiosque micantes | obliquantem oculos* (a passage imitated at *Ag.* 862 *lucis ignotae metuens [sc. canis inferorum] colorem*). It reappears at *Ov. Fasti* 4.449-50 *namque diurnum | lumen inadsueti uix patiuntur equi* [Pluto's horses]. (The description of Theseus at *H.F.* 653 *hebetesque uisus uix diem insuetum ferunt* clearly echoes the *Fasti* passage.)

838-40 iam ... ut: the main idea of the sentence is in the *ut* clause (cf. 1007 and *Tro.* 73-8); *iam* commonly introduced this inversion (Kenney on [Virg.] *Moretum* 1-2; *OLD* s.v. *ut* 27). The poets of the silver age liked to devise fresh expressions for the passage of time; cf. *Tro.* 75-6 *Sigeis trepidus campis | decumas secuit messor aristas*.

Eleusin: the town of Eleusis, N.W. of Athens, famous as the shrine of Ceres and Proserpina (cf. 106). Triptolemus was a king of Eleusis before its incorporation into Attica; he was said to have been given corn by Ceres, hence *dona*; for the development of this legend see N. J. Richardson on the *Homeric hymn to Demeter* (1974) pp. 194-9.

839 parem: sc. *nocti*, a typical compression; the audience is

expected to know that at the equinox night and day are of equal length.

840 ambiguus ... labor: a striking phrase, elucidated by what follows.

842–3 Cf. Ov. *Pont.* 4.16.49–50 *omnia perdidimus: tantummodo uita relicta est | praebeat ut sensum materiamque mali* and *Thy.* 306 *malorum sensus accrescit die*.

843 finis: the cause of the end of an activity; see *OLD* s.v. 11b (Canter (1925) 130).

848 Phlegethonte: properly a river of fire, but here used by synecdoche for the whole of Tartarus (cf. 148, 1200nn.; Tarrant on *Ag.* 753).

849 fugere ... sequi: a frigid antithesis, founded on the notions that death is inescapable and that Hercules took vast strides (the standard of the Olympic stade, see Aul. Gell. 1.1.2 and the proverb *ex pede Herculem*). *Alciden* is the Greek acc. sing.

853 digna: in Eur. *Hipp.* 792–3 Theseus, returned from his sacred embassy, remarks that his reception has been deficient, for the servants are wailing; S.'s Theseus, back from Hades, finds lament appropriate, an ironic observation pointed by *prorsus* (Tarrant on *Thy.* 55).

854 NVTRIX: when and why does the Nurse reappear? *aliquis* at 851 indicates that she is not present; it is addressed to bystanders, e.g., the Chorus. So she must come out whilst Theseus speaks 851–3. She gives no reason for her entrance. If an explanation be needed, it may be supposed that word has been brought to her of 'Theseus' return, so she comes out to explain to him what is happening inside. But as usual S. is not concerned to motivate such details (273n. and cf. 1160).

855 morti imminet: cf. Ov. *Met.* 1.146 *exilio imminet*, with Bömer's note.

857 maturum 'premature', cf. *Oed.* 72 *matura poscens fata* (*OLD* s.v. 9).

860–1 Since the Nurse summoned all Athens as witness (725), it is an inconsistency to maintain that Phaedra is hiding a dark secret.

862 properato est opus: cf. the common Livian phrase *murato opus est* (1.58.5, 3.27.7, 8.13.17, 24.23.9); the construction of the perf. participle with *opus* is frequent in Plautus and Terence, so probably colloquial (*OLD* s.v. *opus* 12c).

863 reserate ... postes: it is hard to imagine the staging of this scene. 'Theseus' demand that the doors be opened suggests that he

means to enter the palace, rather than that an interior scene should be displayed (cf. 384–6). It is therefore odd that Phaedra should be just inside the door, sword in hand, rather than in her bedroom, the usual place for suicide.

postes = *ianua* by the figure metonymy (Housman on Lucan 7.831).

864 socia thalami: a grand periphrasis for ‘wife’ founded on Ovidian models. Ovid favoured phrases like *socius/-a tori* (Bömer on *Met.* 1.621), not found in other poets; cf. *Met.* 10.246 *thalami . . . consorte*, borrowed at *Ag.* 256 in an altered sense.

sicine: denotes vigorous surprise or irony; it is only found here in the tragedies (Mayer on Lucan 8.331).

866 uiduas: the verb was coined apparently by Virgil (*Geor.* 4.517 *aruaque Rhiphaeis numquam uiduata pruinis*), and it remained largely poetic.

868–70 Phaedra replies with an extended *figura iuris iurandi*; oaths were very popular in declamatory speeches and in Ovid (Bonner 153–4). S. naturally turns to them and sometimes arranges them, as here, in climactic progression (Tarrant on *Ag.* 929f.). (The power of elaborate oaths is beautifully realized in the operas of Verdi, e.g., the oath of Iago and Otello which concludes the second act of *Otello*, ‘Sì, per ciel marmoreo giuro’.)

869 natorum indolem ‘the promise of our children’ (so Tarrant on *Thy.* 492); *indoles* denotes capacity or potential, cf. *Med.* 478 *per spes tuorum liberum*.

870 tuosque reditus: cf. *Ov. Her.* 13.159 *per reditus corpusque tuum* (Laodamia promises to follow Protesilaus).

iam cineres meos: a fine climax. It was usual to swear by the bones or ashes of some dear departed (Albucius *apud Sen. Contr.* 7, praef. 7 *iura per patris cineres*, *Ov. Her.* 3.103 *per tamen ossa uiri subito male tecta sepulcro*, 8.119 *per patris ossa tui*), but here Phaedra anticipates her own impending death (*TLL* s.v. *iam* vii 1.89.19–64).

872–8 A lively exchange, one line to each speaker (a device called stichomythia from the Greek *stichos* ‘line’ and *mythos* ‘speech’). It is remarkable that all Phaedra’s replies are proverbial in character.

874 I.e., a chaste wife only speaks to her husband.

876 Cf. [Sen.] *Liber de moribus* 16 *quod tacitum uoles, nemini dixeris*.

877 facultas ‘opportunity’ (like the commoner *copia*); cf. *Ov. Trist.* 4.9.15 *uindictae si sit mihi nulla facultas*.

878 Cf. *Vit. beat.* 25.1 *cui non deest mori posse* and 265–6n.

880 **quod uiuo:** cf. *Ag.* 799 (*Ag.*) *uictor timere quid potest?* (*Cass.*) *quod non timet.*

uiuo: for the scansion see Introduction p. 43.

nonne: only again at *Ag.* 12–13; it is generally avoided in the higher genres of poetry (B. Axelson, *Unpoetische Wörter* (1945) 89–90).

881 Cf. *Cic. Tusc. disp.* 1.117 *at uero ille sapiens* [*Solon*]: *mors mea ne careat lacrimis: linquamur amicis | maerorem, ut celebrent funera cum gemitu* (= *Solon fr.* 21 West). *Phaedra*'s point is that it is preferable for a person (*lacrimandum*, masc., generalizes) to be buried amid tears than with curses.

882–4 Torture is guardedly referred to in Attic tragedy (e.g., *Eur. Ion* 1215 'under compulsion' or *Soph. O.R.* 1152 'on pain will you speak'), with no harrowing details (the opening of the *Prometheus Vincitus* is the sole exception). Descriptions of cruel punishments for slaves were a prominent element in Plautus' comedies (E. Fraenkel, *Elementi plautini in Plauto* (1960) 17; there is, however, a sadistic scene in *Menander's Perinthia* in which a slave is being driven from taking refuge at an altar by fire). Augustan declaimers relished the opportunity to dwell on torture (Bonner 59); such cruelties may safely be deemed Roman preoccupations (T. P. Wiseman, *Catullus and his world* (1985) 5 n. 11), which S. naturally incorporated into all his own works (*Tarrant on Ag.* 988ff., pp. 357–8; Summers on *Epist.* 78.18).

884–5 Cf. *Tro.* 580 *et pectore imo condita arcana eruet* [*dolor*]. Alliteration in 884 enforces *Theseus*' determination.

887 *Theseus* thinks *Phaedra* is simply hiding her tears; in fact she veils herself because she is about to lie on oath.

888–90 *Phaedra* calls her grandfathers, *Jupiter* and the *Sun*, to witness.

890 'Upon whose (daily) rising our family depends.' In other words, so long as the *Sun* rises *Phaedra*'s family is assured of continuation. This sense of *dependeo* is unusual, but cf. *Ad Marc.* 18.3 *ex horum* (sc. *siderum*) *leuissimis motibus fortunae populorum dependent* (*OLD* s.v. 2b).

892 **animus ... corpus:** *Lucretia* after being raped by *Tarquin* makes the same antithesis at *Livy* 1.58.7 '*corpus est tantum uiolatum, animus insons*'.

894 **decoris euersor:** the 'overthrower of his honour' is the man

who tried to rape his wife, a somewhat unfeeling phrase. *decus* has a specific reference to chastity here; cf. Livy 1.58.5 *expugnato decore muliebri* (said of Lucretia after her rape).

898 cerno: for the scansion see Introduction p. 43.

899–900 Theseus recognizes some device on the ivory hilt (older commentators suggested a cicada). (For such tokens cf. Val. Max. 1.8, *ext.* 9 and Val. Fl. 2.418 *tunc ensem notumque ferens insigne Thoantis*.) As it happens, Theseus himself was acknowledged by his father Aegeus thanks to the episeimon, ‘device’, on his sword; cf. the *Aegeus* of Euripides and Ov. *Met.* 7.422–3 *pater in capulo gladii cognovit eburno | signa sui generis*.

900 Actaeae: a learned epithet for Attic, brought into Latin from Hellenistic poetry by Virgil (R. Mayer, *G. & R.* 33 (1986) 51).

901 ipse: refers to the sword’s owner, but it suggests that Theseus cannot bear to name him.

trepidum ‘agitated’ (*OLD* s.v. 3).

fuga: in the extant *Hippolytus* and at Ov. *Met.* 15.504 *meritumque nihil pater eicit urbe* exile is imposed upon Hippolytus by his angry father. Voluntary departure is plausible, but there is no reason why Theseus should not set off in pursuit; he does not so much as question the *famuli* who know which direction Hippolytus took.

902 Those who believe that the play can be performed (Fortey and Glucker (1975), Boyle (1987)) leave Phaedra on stage to the end of the act. As usual, S.’s intention is unclear. If she remains, then she hears Theseus’ curse without reaction, an implausible enough lack of response, since she never suggests that she means to harm Hippolytus. (It cannot be maintained that she expresses shock or dismay in dumb-show, see 404–30n.; the mask concealed facial expression.) It would be prudent to suppose that she leaves the stage with the Nurse at this point.

903–958 This speech is founded upon that of Theseus in Eur. *Hipp.* 936–80, but its dramatic relevance is slighter. For in Euripides Theseus’ speech is part of an ἀγών, and Hippolytus is present to hear himself denounced and so to make an appeal (it seems likely that such an ἀγών was found in both *Hippolytus* plays; Barrett 41). In S.’s version no one else seems to be present, so Theseus’ denunciation is like a lion lashing itself to anger with its tail.

904 Theseus appeals to his supposed father Neptune.

secundum: cf. *H.F.* 599 *et tu secundo maria qui sceptro regis, Med.*

597–8 *sed furit uinci dominus profundi | regna secunda* (OLD s.v. 6c); for the allusion see 1212n.

moues ‘sway’ (OLD s.v. 4c).

906–7 The astounded question, whether one is in Greece or wildest barbarity, is also found in *Thy.* 627–31; for the linking of Scythia and Colchis cf. *Tro.* 1104–5 *quis Colchus hoc, quis sedis incertae Scythia | commisit*. Colchis was the home of the witch Medea, and Taurus suggests the sacrifice of visitors (*Oct.* 980–2 *Taurorum barbara tellus: | hospitis illis caede litatur | numen superum*).

907 -que: 71n.

907–8 Cf. *Tro.* 536 *generosa in ortus semina exsurgunt suos* (i.e., ‘blood will tell’).

redit ‘reverts to’ (OLD s.v. 5b).

908 refert ‘mirror’ (OLD s.v. 19, often of family resemblance).

912 melioris soli: a Greek did not doubt his superiority to other peoples; Jason, for example, in *Eur. Med.* 536–8, claimed merit in bringing Medea to Greece and legal institutions.

913–14 Cf. *Oed.* 639–40 *quique uix mos est feris | fratres sibi ipse genuit*. But the belief that animals do not mate within the family is untrue (Pease on *Virg. Aen.* 4.551, p. 451a); indeed Myrrha in *Ov. Met.* 10.321–9 had justified her passion for her father by appealing to the ‘natural’ incest of beasts as a standard. Likewise Iphis at *Met.* 9.730–4 had complained that her desire for another woman was unnatural because unknown among beasts (cf. Plato, *Leges* 8.836c). The Stoics moreover had pointed to the behaviour of beasts in support of their theory of ‘natural law’ (G. Watson, ‘The natural law and Stoicism’ in A.A. Long, ed., *Problems in Stoicism*, (1971) 216–38, esp. 219). Theseus’ appeal to the same standard is therefore traditional, albeit misguided, unless *ferae* is taken strictly of beasts in a wild state, unlike the tame animals cited by Myrrha.

913 quoque ipsae ‘even the very ...’

914 inscius ‘unconscious’.

915–17 Theseus charges his son with hypocrisy (cf. *Eur. Hipp.* 952–5: Hippolytus a vegetarian and follower of Orpheus). His choice of details suggests the hypocritical philosophers of S.’s own day, as described by Juvenal, 2.3 *qui Curios simulant et Bacchanalia uiuunt*.

915 44n.; *fictus* should be understood with *uultus* and *illa* with *maiestas*.

916 habitus horrens: the ostentatious philosopher wears *asperum cultum* (*Epist.* 5.2); Cato wore a *hirta toga* (Lucan 2.386-7).

prisca et antiqua: cf. Vell. Pat. 2.89.4 *prisca illa et antiqua rei publicae forma reuocata*; the synonyms reinforce one another.

917 senium 'gloom' (*OLD* s.v. 3).

affectus 'traits' (*OLD* s.v. 5).

920 quies 'placidity'.

922 molles: any sort of indulgence could be termed *mollitia*, though the sexual connotation is common (*OLD* s.vv. *mollis* 15 and *mollitia* 7 and 8); Juvenal complained that homosexual men concealed their true nature with *hispida membra quidem et durae per bracchia saetae* (2.11 - 'plus ça change ...'). S. has the contrast again at *Epist.* 112.1 *ualde durus capitur; immo, quod est molestius, ualde mollis capitur* (of a friend in need of moral instruction).

923 ille: of the second pers. cf. Virg. *Aen.* 9.481-2 *tunc ille senectae | sera meae requies* (*TLL* VII 1.360.17-20).

925 uirum 'manhood' (*OLD* s.v. 1e and Courtney on Juv. 9.85), with strong sexual connotation (Tarrant on Ag. 299 *quem Venere tantum scimus illicita uirum* of Aegisthus).

926 iam iam: 9n.

grates ago: this formula is less common than those which use *gratiae*; it has an archaic tone, suited to thanking a god (Fordyce on Catull. 44.16, where the poet thanks his farm for his recovery).

927 The usual presentation of a paradoxical sentiment (as at 578); the audience must wonder how Theseus can rejoice to have killed his first wife. The next line provides the answer.

928-9 The enjambement keeps up the suspense successfully, and *matrem* is placed emphatically at the head of its line. The obscenity is typical (172n.) and finds an analogue at *Phoen.* 49-50: Oedipus tells his virgin daughter Antigone to be gone - after Jocasta anything is possible!

930-7 The reference to remote places of exile permits another list and learned allusions to foreign peoples.

932 Theseus refers to, but does not name, the Antipodes (a people discussed by S. in *Epist.* 122 and referred to by Lucan 8.160). The words chosen represent the Greek name: *obuersum* = 'anti', *pedibus* = 'podes'. Oedipus wishes he were at the Antipodes to escape Jocasta, *Oed.* 1016-18.

933-7 At the other extreme the Hyperboreans, again not named

but clearly represented in the Latin: *supra* (935) = ‘hyper’, and the north wind is named in the next line. This fabulous people is first referred to in Latin by Catullus 115.6 (*RE* s.v. *Hyperboreer* ix 273 lists further poetic allusions).

934 celsi: cf. *H.F.* 129 *signum celsi glaciale poli*; to a Roman the North Pole appears ‘high’.

935 supra: 409n.

936 liqueris ‘leave behind’; 211n.

Boreae minas = 1130.

938 Alliteration enhances the decisive tone. Theseus turns the tables on his son: the hunter is now to be hunted. Both *latebras* and *premam* are appropriate to the chase; *latebra* is an animal’s lair (cf. *Med.* 685 *squamifera latebris turba desertis adest*; *OLD* s.v. 1b) and *premo* is used of running down prey (cf. *Ov. Her.* 4.41; *OLD* s.v. 5b).

939 The extended asyndeton is a favourite device of S.’s (Canter (1925) 169); cf. *H.F.* 1259–60 *cuncta iam amisi bona | mentem arma famam coniugem gnatos manus*.

942 genitor aequoreus: Neptune (at Trozen), but at Athens his father was Aegeus (Herter 1056).

942–3 The gift of three wishes is a motif of folk tale, but the circumstances in which they were granted to Theseus are not known (Herter 1110.47).

943 prono ‘favourable’, a sense first found at *Ov. Trist.* 1.2.88 *pronaque sint nostrae numina uestra rati*; cf. 1243 (*OLD* s.v. 6c).

terna: 150n.

concipiam: since *dedit* is a true perf., ‘has granted’ (*OLD* s.v. *do* 3), primary sequence in the final clause is regular.

944 inuocata ... Styge: an oath sworn by the waters of Styx was inviolable (Hes. *Theog.* 400, 793–806; cf. *Ag.* 755 *iurata superis unda* and *Thy.* 666–7 *dirae Stygis | deformis unda quae facit caelo fidem*).

946 non cernat: a stronger form of wish than *ne* (K–S I 192); cf. *H.F.* 936–7 *non ... regnent tyranni*, *Oed.* 258–9 *hunc ... non hospitalis exulem tellus ferat* and Summers (1910) lxiii–lxiv.

947 manes ... iratos patri: the same conceit is found at *H.F.* 1137 *iratos uisite reges*; Hercules’ children are going to an Underworld hostile because of the father’s successful descent and return.

949 supremum ... munus: that the last wish cannot be cancelled makes it more awful. Cicero relates that Theseus used his third wish to

kill his son (*Off.* 1.10.32 *ex tribus enim optatis, ut scribitur, hoc erat tertium, quod de Hippolyti interitu iratus optauit*). It seems likely that Euripides altered the story in the extant *Hippolytus* so that Theseus should be uncertain of the efficacy of the 'curse' (as it is there called; Barrett 39-40). (Herter 1194.62 needlessly questions the sense of this line to make the wish in S. accord with the extant *Hippolytus*.)

950 consumeremus 'use up' (*OLD* s.v. 6; Duff on *Breu. Vit.* 13.1).

951-3 An unusual variant: it was believed that Theseus used his prayers to escape from the Labyrinth, and from Hades, and to kill his son (Barrett 39 n.3). S. aims to show that Theseus is more disturbed now than he was in the Underworld.

954 moraris: the apparent slowness of divine powers to act is also denounced by Lucan's witch, Erichtho; she prays to the infernal powers (6.695-718) and is vexed when response is not immediate (6.725-6).

956 subtexe noctem 'weave a curtain of night', a phrase which deservedly took Lucan's fancy, cf. 4.104 *nox subtexta*. The verb was used to describe veiling the sky by Lucretius (5.466 *subtexunt nubila caelum*, 6.482 *subtexit caerulea nimbis*) and by Virgil (*Aen.* 3.582 *caelum subtexere fumo*), but as usual S.'s model is Ovid, *Met.* 14.368 *patrio capiti* (sc. *Solis*) ... *subtexere nubes*. What is characteristic of S.'s style is the compression, since he omits the indirect object which Ovid included.

958 tumidus: the god is here identified with the element. At the end of his speech Theseus remains on stage during the third choral song.

CHORUS III

959-89 In anapaestic dimeters the Chorus sing about the changeableness of fortune, one of the commonest themes in the tragedies (Tarrant on *Ag.*, p. 181 n. 7). The opening lines are imitated by Boethius *Cons.* 1, *carm.* 5; his other debts to S. are listed in the index to A. A. Fortescue's edition (1925).

959 Natura: a god to the Stoics; 451 n.

960 Olympi 'sky', so that *igniferi* refers to the stars; cf. *H.O.* 1907 *stelligeri* ... *Olympi*.

961 cito... mundo: the speed of heaven's revolution was a commonplace; cf. *Ag.* 827 *concitatus* ... *mundus* and *Epist.* 94.56 *properantis*.

sidera: the 'fixed stars' as opposed to *astrorum* 'planets' (*OLD* s.v. *astrum* 2).

962 uagos 'constantly moving', not 'wandering' (Loeb) since the planets follow a regular circuit; here it refers to their returning movement (Housman on Manil. 2.71); cf. *H.F.* 126-7 *nox uicta uagos | contrahit ignes* and *Thy.* 834 *uaga picti sidera mundi*.

963 polos 'skies'; *cardine* 'axis' (*OLD* s.v. 3).

964 tibi: nature and Jupiter are here identified as one.

perennes: 'keep their cycles (*uices*) in ceaseless motion', a secondary predicate.

965 agitare 'keep moving' (= *uersare*, see *TLL* I 1334.67); cf. Manil. 1.110 *quasque uices agerent* [sc. *signa*] *certa sub sorte notauit* [sc. *ratio*], 'reason discovered what cycles the constellations experienced according to fixed law' (G. P. Goold).

966-71 The ceaseless turning of the skies brings seasonal change, and S. takes the opportunity for another list (a commonplace among the poets; see *TLL* s.v. *aestas* I 1090).

968 arbustis: poets use the word in the pl. where the appropriate forms of *arbor* proved metrically unmanageable (*silua* and *nemus* were equally handy); here *arboribus* would in fact have fitted, but the synonym had by S.'s day replaced it as poetic diction. For the expression cf. Hor. *C.* 4.7.1-2 *redeunt iam gramina campis | arboribusque comae*.

umbrae 'leaves', a poeticism (*OLD* s.v. 3b).

969 aestiui colla leonis 'the lion with blazing mane' cf. Mart. 9.90.12 *feruens iuba . . . leonis*.

970 coquant 'ripen'; cf. *Epist.* 124.11 *frumentum aestas . . . coxit* (*OLD* s.v. 3a).

971 uiresque suas temperet annus: not the fourth season, autumn, but a concluding summary to indicate the just mixture of seasons; S. is content, as were the early Greeks, with only three (see Anderson on Tac. *Germ.* 26.3 and *Der kleine Pauly* s.v. *Jahreszeiten* II 1301).

temperet: cf. Hor. *C.* 1.12.15-16 *uariisque mundum | temperat horis*. The verb implies not simply mixture, but the right mixture (N-H on Hor. *loc. cit.*). The balance of the universe and its motions was a Stoic notion (cf. *Epist.* 73.6 *anno temperantique annum deo priuatim obligatus sum*).

972-7 The irresolvable nightmare of the believer in providence; cf.

Prou. 1.1 *quaesisti a me, Lucili, quid ita, si prouidentia mundus regeretur, multa bonis uiris mala acciderent.* The answer for what it is worth is offered at *Epist.* 95.50, viz., that the gods' care is general rather than particular: *humani generis tutelam gerunt interdum incuriosi singulorum.*

972 idem: 'he who ... nevertheless' commonly emphasizes an unexpected contrast especially with a relative clause (*OLD* s.v. 10b and cf. the passage of Horace quoted at 983–4n.).

974 ducunt 'trace'; cf. *N.Q.* 7.23.1 *sideris proprium est ducere orbem* ('orbit', as here; *OLD* s.v. 15).

975 hominum: emphatically placed to point the contrast with the brute universe.

securus 'indifferent to'.

abes = *non adiuuas* (so *TLL* 1 209.5–15); the word is appropriate to the local gods of antiquity who only helped by being present (cf. 54).

976 sollicitus: 'anxiously attentive'; it is constructed with the inf. for the first time here.

977 nocuisse: 503n.

978–80 The Chorus deny the work of providence in favour of the rule of chance; cf. *Epist.* 16.5 *casus res humanas sine ordine impellit et iactat.* At *Tusc. disp.* 5.25 Cicero translated a similar sentiment of the tragic poet Chaeremon: *uitam regit fortuna, non sapientia.*

979–80 manu ... caeca: the blindness of fortune's behaviour is proverbial (Otto 141–2); for her hand cf. *Epist.* 111.4 *quidni contentus sit creuisse quo manus fortuna non porrigit?*

981 uincit 'prevails against' (*OLD* s.v. 8).

sanctos 'blameless'; cf. 1187, 1198 (*OLD* s.v. 4).

982 aula: often denotes the seannier side of life at court (Tarrant on *Ag.* 81; cf. Lucan 8.493–4 *exeat aula | qui uult esse pius*).

983–4 The reference to election to magistracies is another anachronism (352n.), and so *turpi* carries its special denotation of one who was disbarred from office through *infamia* (cf. Hor. *Epist.* 1.16.33–4 *si | detulerit fasces indigno, detrahet idem | sc. populus*).

984 atque 'and yet' (*OLD* s.v. 9).

985 tristis 'forbidding'; cf. *Epist.* 86.14 where *tristia* refers to the austerity of Scipio's bath-house (*OLD* s.v. 4).

peruersa 'unnatural', i.e., the opposite of what they deserve (Summers on *Epist.* 5.2 *peruersa uia*).

tulit: 74n.

986 sequitur 'attend on'; often in S. of good or bad things that are part and parcel of certain characters (Summers on *Epist.* 15.3 *multa sequuntur incommoda huic deditos curae*).

987-8 The reference to an *adulter* has tempted precise identification; two candidates are possible depending on the date of composition (for which see Introduction pp. 3-5). S. might be referring either to C. Silius, who owed his consulship to Messalina (671n.), or to Nero himself after the repudiation of Octavia in favour of Poppaea in A.D. 62. A specific case is not however necessarily intended at all.

988 uane 'ineffectual' (*OLD* s.v. 5); his chastity could not save Hippolytus, so its *decus* ('reputation') is delusive.

989-90 The Chorus revert to spoken iambs to announce the arrival of the Messenger. 'The interrogation runs no further than the first verse (989); the second is predication, and *rigatque* is the same as *rigans*' (Housman 1079).

990 genis: another instance of verbal indiscipline, since the cheeks (or perhaps eyes) are part of the face (701n.).

ACT IV

As in *Thyestes* the fourth act is given over to the narration of the Messenger. There is an introductory dialogue with Theseus, who encourages the reluctant slave (991-9), and a concluding one (1114-22). The narrative of the death of Hippolytus, over one hundred lines long, emphasizes horror and dread, a feature of such speeches in S. (M. Fuhrmann, 'Die Funktion grausiger und ekelhafter Motive in der lateinischen Dichtung', in H. R. Jauss, ed., *Die nicht mehr schönen Künste*, (1968), 23-66, esp. 46-9). The messenger's speech was a significant narrative element in Attic tragedy, and S. had of course a model in the speech at Eur. *Hipp.* 1173-1254; but his immediate source was once again Ovid. In *Met.* 15.492-546 Hippolytus-Virbius relates his own death, and details of that speech reappear in S.'s treatment. (A similar reworking of epic material is found also in Petronius, *Sat.* 89; the poet Eumolpus transforms portions of Virgil *Aen.* 2 into a messenger speech on the death of Laocoon. This suggests that the exercise was popular among literati.) One element characteristic of epic narrative which obtrudes into this speech is the simile. The Messenger allows himself no fewer than five (there are only two crisp similes at Eur. *Hipp.* 1201 and

1221). Two, which compare the beast to sea-monsters (1029–30, 1048–9), are too similar in character (cf. *Thy.* 707–11 and 732–6 where the Messenger compares Atreus now to a tigress and now to a lion); the mythological comparison to Phaethon (1090–2) adds nothing to the pathos of the scene described. These similes increase the bulk of the speech but not its impact. (It is worth noting that the pseudo-messenger speech in Petron. *Sat.* 89 uses three similes in sixty-five lines.) For all that, it is the model for Racine's famous 'récit de Thérémène' in his *Phèdre* (see Introduction p. 35). (The death of Hippolytus as described in the classical poets provided the fifth-century Christian poet Prudentius with an imaginary martyrdom for Hippolytus, bishop at Portus. The bishop, who like his namesake favoured virginity, died in the third century in unknown circumstances. Prudentius therefore borrowed from the pagan myth and had him torn to pieces by stampeding horses. His remains were collected by his followers, and even his blood was sponged off rocks and trees. See *Peristephanon* xi, *De passione S. Hippolyti.*)

992 It is conventional for messengers to prove reluctant to impart their dire news (Tarrant on *Ag.* 416ff., especially *refugit loqui | mens aegra*).

994 aerumnis: dat. (*TLL* s.v. *imparatus* vii 1.521.35).

997 It is also conventional that messengers deliver the bad news at once and elaborate only upon request; cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 1162 'Hippolytus is as good as dead' (Tarrant on *Ag.* 925–7).

998 gnatum: pointedly juxtaposed with *parens*, the word has a double sense, not only 'son', but also 'the sense of his being a son'. Such pregnant usage is characteristic of S.; Summers elucidates *Epist.* 76.4 *uir bonus quaeritur* thus: 'we investigate into the character of a good man'. His note offers other examples in S.'s prose and verse (e.g., *Med.* 928 *materque tota coniuge expulsa redit*), and he rightly points to declamatory style and to Ovid as models (e.g., *Met.* 8.463 *pugnant materque sororque* 'a mother's and sister's love', or 12.30 *rex . . . patrem uicit* of Agamemnon sacrificing his daughter). See 948n. (*Addendum*, p. 196).

999 Cf. *Tro.* 1065 *expone seriem caedis*, another encouragement to a reluctant messenger.

1000 ut: the common introduction to such narratives (Tarrant on *Ag.* 421).

infesto gradu: 367n. Hippolytus' hostility becomes more pronounced at 1004–5; cf. *Oed.* 917 *regiam infestus petens* sc. Oedipus.

1001 explicans ‘unrolling’, cf. *Ad Polyb.* 7.2 [*sidera*] *inrequieta semper cursus suos explicant* (*TLL* v 2.1731.55–9).

1002 celso ... iugo: cf. *Ov. Met.* 12.128–9 *curru fremebundus ab alto | desilit*, 2.105–6 *altos ... currus* and *Lucan* 3.77 *celsos ... currus*; tall chariots suggest heroic stature. The opening description of yoking the fated horses may be owed to the first *Hippolytus* of Euripides; fr. 442N² (= Barrett’s R, p. 22) ‘having rushed at once to the horses’ stable’.

1003 domita: tameness emphasizes their later insubordination.

1004–5 patrium solum | abominatus: this departing curse is perhaps suggestive of Hippolytus’ wild nature; Euripides’ hero on the other hand regrets his departure from the land in which his happy youth was spent (*Hipp.* 1094–7).

1005 genitorem ciet: the irony is that Hippolytus believes his father is still in the Underworld.

1006 habenis lora: 701n.; the words refer to the same object: he loosens the reins and shakes them.

1007 cum subito: so eager is S. to get to the calamity that he fails to make the Messenger say what direction Hippolytus took or where the incident occurred (contrast *Eur. Hipp.* 1197: the road to Argos and Epidaurus; 1198–2000: a waste region facing the Saronic gulf). The *cum inuersum* construction (cf. 838–40) commonly introduces a surprise, especially when reinforced with *subito* (Tarrant on *Ag.* 470 *cum subito luna conditur, stellae latent*).

uastum: take with *mare*, not adverbially; it is a constant epithet (cf. 85, 1204, *Oed.* 1015, *Tro.* 819, 930).

tonuit: the thunder was the first thing described at *Eur. Hipp.* 1201.

1008 creuitque in astra: cf. *Ag.* 471 *in astra pontus tollitur*, a cliché of the declaimers (Bonner 165). But here there is an unexpected twist, no wind to cause the eruption of water.

1010 -que: after the negatives in the previous lines, the copula is slightly adversative (*OLD* s.v. 6b, cf. 1065n.).

propria tempestas: a neat phrase to explain the unnatural storm, which has been roused by Neptune without the aid of the winds. Alliteration enhances the line’s effect. Cf. *Thy.* 678 *nox propria luco est* (Atreus’ grove stays dark in the daytime).

1011–14 The Messenger offers two terms of comparison, neither especially original.

1011 Cf. *Ad Marc.* 17.2 *deinde uidebis ... Charybdim, quam diu ab*

austro uacat, and *Epist.* 14.8 *austri minas* (*ille est enim qui Siculum pelagus exasperet . . .*)

disturbat: rare in poetry apart from Lucretius.

1012–14: the Ionian sea, between Greece and southern Italy, was notoriously stormy; cf. *Virg. Geor.* 2.107–8 *aut, ubi nauigiis uiolentior incidit Eurus*, | *nosse quot Ionii ueniant ad litora fluctus*, and *Lucan* 6.27 *Ioniumque furens*.

1013 regnante ‘mastering’ (*OLD* s.v. 3); Horace called the wind *Auster dux Hadriae* at *C.* 3.3.5 (cf. *arbiter* at *C.* 1.3.15).

1014 Leucaten: a promontory on the island of Leucas in the Ionian sea.

1015 At this point S. begins to draw on Ovid’s description of the death of Hippolytus in *Met.* 15, especially 508–9 *cum mare surrexit cumulusque immanis aquarum* | *in montis speciem curuari et crescere uisus*.

in ‘so as to form’, a final use of *in*; cf. 1046 (*OLD* s.v. 21).

aggerem ‘heap’, here first of water (*OLD* s.v. 6b).

1016 Leo (1878) deleted the line as an unwelcome anticipation of 1033–4; it is defended by Billerbeck (1988) 113.

1019 onerato sinu suggests pregnancy (the phrase appears also in *Const. sap.* 6.8. in a different sense). Manilius describes the approach of a sea-monster in similar language, 5.579 *gravidus . . . pontus*.

1020 nouum . . . caput: the reference may be to the birth of volcanic islands, a matter which interested S. (cf. *N.Q.* 2.26.4 *cum insula in Aegeo mari surgeret, spumabat interdum mare et fumus ex alto ferebatur* and 6.21.1).

1021 astris: a pleasing variant on the usual ‘daylight’ (cf. *TLL* II 975.10–15).

1022–4 The concealment of these features of the landscape is drawn from *Eur. Hipp.* 1205–9. But they are inappropriate to S.’s drama which is set in Athens; they suit their original context since Euripides set the scene in Trozen (Barrett fully discusses the topography, pp. 382–4).

1022 latuere: the perf. describes an instantaneous action; see Austin on *Virg. Aen.* 1.90 *intonuere poli*.

rupes: sc. *nobiles* to govern *numine*, 44n. The location of these rocks is not known.

Epidauri is an adj.; for this contracted form cf. *Prop.* 4.10.1 *Iouis Feretri*. The Epidaurian god (54n.) is Aesculapius, son of Apollo, who had a medicinal shrine at Epidaurus on the Saronic gulf.

1023 scelere ... nobiles: Sciron was a local villain slain by Theseus as one of his tests. Travellers were made to bathe his feet; while so employed they were kicked over a cliff at the bottom of which a giant tortoise attacked them. It is Ovid who relates that the crags were Sciron's unburied bones, now petrified (*Met.* 7.444–7).

1024 comprimitur 'is hemmed in'; the narrow neck of land joining the Peloponnese to northern Greece, the Isthmus of Corinth, is washed by the gulf of Corinth on the west and by the Saronic gulf on the east.

1025 quaerimus 'look for in vain' (*OLD* s.v. 2). The objection to *querimur* (A) is that stupefaction and complaint cannot coexist. In a more careful writer this would be cogent. But S. writes at *Med.* 853–4 *uultus citatus ira | riget*, which is also physically impossible. Attempts to emend the verb are unconvincing. The reading of E has therefore been hesitantly accepted; it entails the transposition of *en* to secure correct scansion. *en* is postponed one place in its clause at *H.F.* 944 and 1028 (but it has been noted that it is not elsewhere found at this position in the line).

1026 immugit: cf. Ov. *Met.* 15.510 *dare mugitus* of the sea.

undique scopuli: for the scansion of *-que* see Introduction p. 43.

adstrepunt 'take up the cry'; the verb seems to have been coined by S.

1027 summum cacumen refers to the wave's crest cf. Ov. *Met.* 15.510 *summoque cacumine findi*; the same phrase appears in Apul. *Met.* 2.10.

1028 uicibus alternis: used of the sea channel Euripus at *H.F.* 377, and, in the sing., of the sea at *Ag.* 561.

1029–30 The simile refers to the whale (*physeter* is Greek for 'blower'); S. exploits here his knowledge of natural history.

1030 ore: if S. is accurately describing the whale here, he refers to its method of feeding; it sucks in sea water which it then expels through its mouth by raising its tongue; *ore* ought not to refer to the blow-hole by which it breathes, though the elder Pliny thought that whales had their mouths in their foreheads (*N.H.* 9.6.16).

1031 globus = *cumulus* at Ov. *Met.* 15.508; but the word is apparently unique as used here of water (cf. *TLL* VI 2056.78).

1032 soluit ... sese: cf. Ov. *Met.* 15.510 *findi* of the vast heap of water.

1034 os 'mouth', i.e., power of speech.

1035-48 The Messenger describes the appearance of the monster; it is a bull, an animal closely associated with Neptune (Roscher, *Lexicon* III 2.2808) and an integral part of the Hippolytus legend (cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 1214). The description is self-indulgently long and belongs rather to epic tradition. Sea-monsters were great favourites with the poets since the imagination could be given free rein (cf. depictions of St George's dragon). Virgil gave a lead with the sea-snakes which attacked Laocoon in *Aen.* 2.203-11 (the lines reworked in Petron. *Sat.* 89). Especially popular was the tale of Andromeda, exposed as a sacrifice to a sea-monster; Latin tragedians – Livius Andronicus, Ennius, Accius – had used her myth in plays and may have had occasion to describe the monster (cf. Enn. *scaen.* 113 Jocelyn). Ovid sketchily described it at *Met.* 4.725-7, Manilius more circumstantially at 5.581-5. After S., Valerius Flaccus describes Hesione's rescue by Hercules from a sea-monster, 2.497-537. S.'s description is the most luxuriant, and the creature could be realized by Fabergé in enamels; since such a monster was a *figmentum* S. could let his fancy riot, as he could not in sober prose. However, the passage is too long and its very detail diminishes the audience's terror.

1035 quis: 651n.

1036 caerulea: dark-blue was the colour of Neptune's hair.

1037 fronte uiridanti: cf. Hor. *C.* 3.28.10 *uiridis Nereidum comas*.

1038 hispidae: hairy ears were reckoned desirable in cattle; cf. Varro *R.R.* 2.5.7.

1039 habuisset 'ought to have had' (E. C. Woodcock, *A new Latin syntax* (1959) 86-7).

1040-1 hinc ... hinc = *modo ... modo*.

1041 caerulea ... nota: blue eyes are probably weird to southern Europeans. At any rate Euphorion gives them to Cerberus, fr. 57.7 Powell = 57.7 van Groningen, and the colour is appropriate to a sea creature.

1043 hiulcis: boldly transferred by the figure enallage from the nostrils to the draughts (so *TLL* VI 2847.45).

1044 musco: S. attributes the mossy limbs of river gods (e.g., *Epic. Drusi* 223 *tum salice implexum muscoque et harundine crinem*) to the sea-monster in the face of botanical plausibility.

1045 fuco 'seaweed' (Loeb); this seems the correct sense though the

word usually refers to the dye made from seaweed. Plato describes Glaucus as covered in seaweed, *φυκία*, at *Resp.* 10.611d.

1046 pone: not used by the classical poets as a preposition, but *pone tergum* is common in prose, e.g., S. *Ad Marc.* 9.3, Tac. *Hist.* 3.84, *Ann.* 2.16.3, Apul. *Met.* 2.4.

in: 1015n.

1047 facies ‘shape’ (*OLD* s.v. 5); this unusual sense had to be established by Aulus Gellius (13.30.2); cf. *Epist.* 113.9 *talem ergo faciem animi nobis proponimus qualis est hydrae*.

1049 citatas ... rates: 44n. ‘Swift’ is a stock epithet of ships since Homer, e.g., Catull. 63.1 *celeri rate*.

1050–4 The Messenger describes a peopled landscape: cattle and herdsmen, huntsmen and their game. It is like a wall-painting.

1053–4 Both lines end with the same word, an infelicitous jingle, but not uncommon in S. (cf. 1111–12 where *modo* appears twice in the same sentence and 1257–8).

1054 Cf. Ov. *Met.* 15.514 *mihi mens interrita mansit* (Hippolytus speaks).

1055 The action of reining of the horses is described in detail by Ovid, *Met.* 15.518–20; S. therefore compresses his account.

1056 Hippolytus speaks to his horses, unlike poor Phaethon at Ov. *Met.* 2.192 *nec nomina nouit equorum*.

1057–8 This brief description of the scene indicates that Hippolytus has been driving on the beach and turns to a path, where the beast is in ambush, leading up to the crest of the crags.

1063 torua refers back to *moles* (1059).

currus: 787n.

1065 nec ora mutat: the impassivity of the hero is a commonplace. **et** after *nec* has adversative force (*OLD* s.v. 3b, cf. 1010n.).

magnum: adverbial acc.; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 9.705 *magnum stridens* (K–S 1 281).

1067 There is a pathetic irony about this line. Hippolytus boasts that he is a true son of Theseus, because he still does not know that Theseus is the cause of the monster’s appearance (cf. 1005n.). The form of the boast is founded on Ov. *Met.* 9.67 *cunarum labor est angues superare mearum* (Hercules speaks).

tauros: the plural is a typical exaggeration (so Leo, *Obs.* 150 n. 3

and cf. *Tro.* 242 *et dea natos* (= only Memnon) and 569 *uicimus matrum dolos* (= only Thetis)), but Hippolytus may have in mind the bull of Marathon and the Minotaur.

1068 inobsequentes: this unusual word is also found in *N.Q.* 1 *praef.* 16; cf. *Ira* 2.16.2 *equorum frenos sequentium*, 'heeding'.

1069 rapuere currum: cf. Ovid's description of the death of Hippolytus (next note).

1071 per scopulos: cf. *Ov. Met.* 15.517–8 *altis | praecipitant currum scopulis* and *Fasti* 6.742 *per scopulos dominum duraque saxa trahunt*.

1072 The comparison of the charioteer to an oarsman is found at *Eur. Hipp.* 1221, and developed metaphorically at 1224 and 1227.

1074 fallit 'elude, cheat'; cf. *Claud. IV Cons. Hon.* 424 *quo fluctus moderamine falli*.

1076–7 terga ... coercet 'controls' (*OLD* s.v. 5); cf. *Ov. Met.* 5.643 *frenisque coarctat ora*.

torto ... uerbere: from *Virg. Geor.* 3.106 where Conington takes it to mean 'the circling lash' (i.e., not 'twisted').

frequens 'assiduously'; the adverbial use of this adj. is common (*OLD* s.v. 5).

1077–9 The beast chases the chariot like a dream demon, unavoidable; cf. *Eur. Hipp.* 1226–31, where he adds the chilling detail that it came up to the chariot in silence.

1078 aequa 'equivalent', the bull keeps equal pace with the team.

1081–2 corniger ... sonipedes: the compound words are appropriately elevated diction for tragedy.

1082 uero: for the scansion see Introduction p. 43.

1083 soluunt 'annul' (*OLD* s.v. 17); cf. *Virg. Aen.* 10.91 *foedera soluere furto*.

1083–4 luctantur ... eripere: cf. *Virg. Aen.* 12.387–8 *luctatur ... telum eripere* (where the inf. first appears with this verb).

1085 praeceps: 26on.

fusus 'spilt out'; in all accounts Hippolytus is flung from the chariot (*Eur. Hipp.* 1236, *Ov. Met.* 15.524 *excutor curru* and *Fasti* 6.743 *exciderat curru*); the reins also entangle his limbs and so prevent his escape (*Ov. Met.* 15.524 *loris ... tenentibus artus* and *Fasti* 6.743 *loris ... morantibus artus*).

1086 laqueo: ironical, since the huntsman is now himself ensnared.

1087 sequaces ‘pliant’ (*OLD* s.v. 2). A similar mishap is deftly described at *Ag.* 894 *artat . . . motu uincla* (a boar).

1088 sensere: cf. *Ov. Met.* 2.167 *quod simul ac sensere* (the horses of the Sun who have Phaethon in the chariot); S. wittily points the duller members of the audience to his source by an explicit simile. (He refers to the myth also at *Med.* 599–602.)

1089 dominante nullo: < *Ov. Met.* 2.202 *nulloque inhibente* (of Phaethon).

1090–2 The simile drawn from myth is less in the character of the Messenger than appropriate to the literary salons of Rome.

per auras = *Ov. Met.* 2.202.

non suum agnoscens onus: cf. *Ov. Met.* 2.161 *sed leue pondus erat, nec quod cognoscere possent*.

1092 currus: 787n.

deuio . . . polo ‘from a remote part of the sky’; Phaethon had strayed from the right path (*Ov. Met.* 2.167–8).

1093–1100 The description of Hippolytus’ death is characteristically gruesome; Canter (1925) 72–4 collects similar scenes from other plays and classes them under the term δεινωσις, the vehement exaggeration of an indignity.

1093 cruentat: the subject is Hippolytus.

1095 populatur: cf. *Virg. Aen.* 6.496 *populata . . . tempora* (of Deiphobus).

1096 multo uulnere: cf. *Ov. Met.* 15.529 *unumque erat omnia uulnus*.

decor: it was the beauty of Hippolytus which attracted Phaedra, so the curse operates against it chiefly (cf. 1110 and 1173).

1098–9 truncus ambusta sude . . . stipite ingesto tenet ‘a tree trunk, charred into a stake, holds him with its stock driven in through the groin’. At *Eur. Hipp.* 1232 it was a rock, at *Ov. Met.* 15.525 it was a tree stump that caught Hippolytus. Only S. invents obscene details of a symbolic character. *ambusta sude* is best seen as a descriptive abl.; the charring might have been caused by lightning. It verges on pleonasm, since the trunk and the stake are the same; cf. 701 and see Kenney on [*Virg.*] *Mor.* 8. The sentence is all the more remarkable thanks to the instrumental abl., *stipite ingesto*, since once again the *stipes* and the trunk appear to be the same. This pleonasm is more usual in poetry, where alternatives to the bald reflexive are sought. Instead of saying ‘the trunk

holds him by thrusting itself in', S. replaces 'itself' with a synonym of the subject word (see Kenney on [Virg.] *Mor.* 61).

1100 Axelson, followed by Zwierlein (1987), deletes this line. It may be granted that it is a pallid expansion of what is said more crisply in the next line, but that is not a compelling argument in the text of S. (Billerbeck (1988) 112–13; he co-ordinates the synonymous verbs at *Oed.* 585–6 *gelidus in uenis stetit | haesitque sanguis*).

1101–2 **pariter moram | dominumque rumpunt**: an example of syllepsis (cf. 90–1n. and Shackleton Bailey on Prop. 3.9.23), in one of its most characteristic shapes, introduced by *pariter* (cf. 1178; see Canter (1925) 163 and Bömer on *Met.* 2.601–2). (This pattern was hit upon by Virgil, *Aen.* 5.508 *pariterque oculos telumque tetendit*.) Usually syllepsis joins two terms (here *moram* and *dominum*) with a third (*rumpunt*) that must have a slightly different sense with each term; the horses break delay (an abstract concept) by tearing their master (a concrete action). Leo regarded this as one of the boldest instances of the figure (*Obs.* 197) but it is to be recalled that *mora* can itself be used in a transferred sense to indicate a physical obstacle (*OLD* s.v. 10).

1102–4 These lines gruesomely expand Ov. *Met.* 15.525 *neruosque in stirpe teneri*.

1105 **funebri famuli manus**: another artificial pattern of apposition (cf. 1253; see 305, 780nn.); it is found at Virg. *Aen.* 1.435 *ignauum fucus genus* (Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 12.89 and 13.598).

1112 **certus heres**: the Messenger wants only to stress the completeness of Hippolytus' fall from good fortune, not to involve himself in difficulties over his status compared to the sons of Phaedra (contrast Ov. *Her.* 4.121–2).

1114 **confertur**: the final word makes the witty point that Hippolytus is not being carried out (*ecfertur*) for burial, but has to be 'gathered up'.

1114–16 'Thesesus' grief is similar to that of Clytemnestra when she has received news of the death of Orestes at Soph. *El.* 770–1: 'Child-bearing is a fearsome thing; however much a woman suffers she cannot hate the ones she has borne.'

potens ... natura: the hyperbaton is exactly similar to that at 1170–2.

1115 **uinclo**: of a bond uniting people see *OLD* s.v. 6.

1116 **quoque** 'even' (*OLD* s.v. 4).

1119 hunc: the demonstrative pronoun, when used substantively as the subject of a definition ('I reckon this the crown of misfortunes . . .'), is usually attracted into the gender and number of the defining substantive; e.g., Virg. *Aen.* 6.128–9 *sed reuocare gradum superasque euadere ad auras, | hoc opus, hic labor est*; see Roby para. 1068.

cumulum 'crown'; the sense seems to be found first in Cicero, *Fam.* 16.21.1 *cumulum . . . gaudi*, and it is introduced to poetry by Ovid, *Her.* 9.20 *cumulus stupri* (*OLD* s.v. 4).

1121 et introduces a surprised question, 'Well . . .'

1122 Theseus now bewails the fact that he had to be the instrument of destruction, not the fact of his son's death.

CHORUS IV

1123–53 The final choral ode reflects on the fickleness of fortune (1123–43) and the misery of Theseus (1144–8); it closes with a remark to the city's patron deity (1149–53). The Chorus then announce the appearance of Phaedra. The metres employed are: (i) 1123–7 anapaest, (ii) 1128–31 asclepiad, (iii) 1132–48 anapaest, (iv) 1149–53 sapphic.

1123 rotant: cf. *Ag.* 71–2 *ut . . . casus Fortuna rotat*. Cicero refers to Fortune's wheel at *Pis.* 22 (Nisbet's note gives a full discussion of this popular image), but it is noteworthy that the wheel was little represented in antiquity and reference to it was mainly literary (see *Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum* s.v. *Fortuna* VIII 187 'Charakteristika').

1124–40 The Chorus focus on the greater dangers to which the eminent are exposed. Glib as these verses are, harsh experience must have taught many Romans of S.'s class the truth of these sentiments.

1127 senes contains the additional point that hovels keep men safe into old age.

1128 admota aetheriis culmina sedibus recalls Hor. *C.* 3.29.10 *molem propinquam nubibus*, describing the palace of Maecenas; *admota* suggests construction of a lofty building, cf. Mart. 4.64.9–10 *puris leniter admouentur astris | celsae culmina delicata uillae* (*OLD* s.v. *admoueo* 10b). That tall buildings must endure storms is a part of this commonplace found also at *Ag.* 92–3 *nubibus ipsis inserta caput | turris pluuiis uapulat Austro*.

1129–31 In order to flesh out this short ode S. includes one wind from each quarter of heaven, as in the famous description of the storm at sea, *Ag.* 474–84.

1129 excipiunt, excipiunt: cf. *Oed.* 8 *alta uentos semper excipiunt iuga*. This sentence offers a version of the figure chiasmus (Canter (1925) 166); cf. *H.F.* 1229 *huc arcum date, date huc sagittas*.

1134-6 Cf. *Ag.* 96 *feriunt celsos fulmina colles* (an adaptation of the same commonplace at *Hor. C.* 1.10.11-12 *feriuntque summos fulgura montis*; see N-H *ibid.* 9). Here S. localizes the commonplace theme by naming Caucasus and Mt Ida in the Troad.

1134 tremuit: 74n.

altisoni: the compound adj. is found in Ennius and in Cicero's verse; cf. *Ag.* 582 *altisona . . . regna*.

1136 caelo: dative.

1138 capit 'suffer' (*OLD* s.v. 13a); cf. *H.F.* 199-200 *humilique loco sed certa sedet | sordida paruae fortuna domus*.

1139 humilis tecti: descriptive genitive.

plebeia: as Tarrant observes on *Thy.* 400 the word has for the moralists a tone of approval.

1140 The anapaestic monometer was deleted by Fabricius and by Leo, *Obs.* 139-40, as a restatement of 1136-7.

1141 ambiguus . . . alis: a neat adaptation of *Ov. Trist.* 5.8.15 *passibus ambiguus Fortuna . . . errat*.

1142-3 praestat . . . fidem 'guarantees her loyalty' (a different sense of the phrase from 92). Fortune's fickleness is illustrated by a collection of passages in *TLL* s.v. *fortuna* VI 1.1182.8-15.

1145 laetus uidit: the supplement proposed *exempli gratia* by Leo (1878) to provide the relative clause with a verb. The reading of A in 1144 *qui clara uidet* is inferior to E's *hic qui clari*, even though it produces sense; the objection to it is that it lacks the specific reference to Theseus which E's *hic qui* provides (Kunst (1924)). (Leo assumed that E omitted the predicate after *clari*, but Zwierlein (1986) argues that it should be after *mundi* or *diem*, see *ad loc.*) A's reading is therefore an interpolation which supplies the missing predicate.

morte relictæ = 1220.

1147 magis flebile: the periphrastic comparative, only found here, is adopted for metrical convenience.

Auerno: 8oon.; his reception at home is sadder than (his reception) in Hades.

1149-53 The ode ends with a conceit: Pluto cannot complain of a diminished realm since he has got Hippolytus in exchange for Theseus.

1149 Actaeae: goon.

1150 quod ‘as to the fact that ...’ (*OLD* s.v. *quod* 6, and especially 6c ‘concessive’).

superos: 145n.

1152 The Chorus seem to suggest that Athena might have had to recompense her uncle with her own virtue, a bizarre fancy. (Professor Kenney proposes to read *iusta* for *casta*.)

1153 The sum (*OLD* s.v. *numerus* 6) balances (*OLD* s.v. *consto* 10b); commercial metaphors in *S.* are not infrequent (Introduction p. 25).

1154–5 The Chorus turn to announce the appearance of Phaedra, who, it must be assumed, has been told of Hippolytus’ death.

ab altis ... tectis: Phaedra need not be on the roof of the palace (as Medea clearly is at *Med.* 973 *tecta conscendam*); her cry issues from within the building (*OLD* s.v. *tectum* 2); for the synecdoche see Canter (1925) 123.

ACT V

The last act is divided between the lament and suicide of Phaedra and the lament of Theseus. The two laments resemble each other closely (Zwierlein (1966) 22–4). Each has the following common elements: (i) amazed address to corpse: 1168 = 1249, (ii) self-indictment: 1169 = 1249–51, 1192–4 = 1209–10, (iii) notice of destroyed beauty: 1173–4 = 1269–70, (iv) curse upon self: 1159–63 = 1204–7, (v) offer of recompense: 1181–2 = 1273, (vi) yearning to die and follow Hippolytus: 1179–80 and 1188–9 = 1238–42. Not only are the elements similar in substance, but the expression too is repetitive (1024–6n.). Despite a defence of this act by G. Solimano in *S.I.F.C.* 4 (1986) 80–105, the impression of a flagging invention is hard to escape.

1157 It is odd that Theseus makes no effort to disarm the raving woman.

1158 supra corpus: the phrase suggests the presence of Hippolytus’ corpse, which Phaedra addresses at 1168–74. And yet at 1247–8 Theseus orders the remains to be brought in (for the inconsistency see Introduction p. 17 and n. 62).

1159 me, me: cf. *Tro.* 680 *me, me sternite*; 9n. This outburst recalls Nisus’ *me, me adsum qui feci, in me conuertite ferrum*, Virg. *Aen.* 9.427; Page said of the line that to supply a verb to govern the acc. would spoil its

living passion. S. has supplied the verb, *inuade* (1160). That Phaedra addresses Neptune shows that she has somehow learned of Theseus' curse too. *profundi ... dominator freti* is a neat reworking of Virg. *Aen.* 5.799 *domitor ... maris alti*.

1161-3 These descriptive clauses offer distinctions without differences in the synonymous expressions for 'sea' and for 'remote'.

1162 **uagis** 'shifting', cf. 3n. and Tibull. 2.3.39 *uago ... ponto* and 2.6.3-4 *uaga ... aequora*.

1164 **semper ... numquam**: 92n.

1165 **genitor**: Aegeus, 'Theseus' natural father (at Athens), had bidden his son hoist white sails on his safe return from Crete; Theseus failed to give the happy sign and so Aegeus killed himself (cf. Catull. 64.241-5).

1166 **luere**: vows, *uota*, were offered for the safe return of loved ones; these had to be paid in the form of sacrifice. Phaedra imagines Hippolytus and Aegeus paying with their own lives.

1167 **amore**: since Theseus loved Phaedra, he was prepared to believe her unconditionally.

odio: the motive for the murder of Hippolytus' mother.

1168 Phaedra now turns to the corpse; she grieves less for the man than for his spoiled beauty (1173 and cf. 1270).

intuor: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 9.481 *hunc ego te, Euryale, aspicio?* (Euryalus' mother at the sight of his corpse) and Ov. *Met.* 13.495 *uideoque tuum, mea uulnera, uulnus* (Hecuba to Polyxena's corpse); see Tarrant on *Thy.* 1038 *abscisa cerno capita*.

1169-73 Phaedra knows that Neptune's beast attacked Hippolytus (1160-1), but she is allowed to fantasize, and chooses from among the pests defeated by Theseus (cf. 1223-5).

1169 1223-4n.

1170 **sparsit**: the verb is appropriate to the method of Sinis but not to that of Procrustes, who either hammered his victims or bound them to a bed; S. is either not writing carefully or uses the figure zeugma.

1170-2 **Cresius ... taurus**: 1114-16n. for the hyperbaton.

1172 **biformis**: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.25 where the word first appeared and was applied to the Minotaur.

1174 **oculique nostrum sidus**: it was a conceit of love poetry that the eyes of the beloved were a sort of lodestar to the lover. S. here neatly

adapts to iambic Ov. *Am.* 2.16.44 *perque oculos, sidera nostra, tuos* (but Ovid borrows from Prop. 2.3.14 *non oculi, geminae, sidera nostra, faces*).

1177 Cf. *Oed.* 1035–6 *pectori infigam meo | telum* (Jocasta deliberates the means of suicide).

1178 memet (A) is here preferred to *Phaedram* (E) in the belief that the proper name was a gloss upon the pronoun, which it expelled in later transcriptions of the text. It is hard to believe on the other hand that if *Phaedram* was authentic anyone would replace it with the pronoun. For such intrusive glosses cf. *H.F.* 460 where E reads *Idaeae* for A's *exesae* in order to explain which mountain is meant, and *Oed.* 246 where again E intrudes *Sphinx* as a gloss on *nefandi carminis*; at *Tro.* 922 *Paridi* is reckoned to be a gloss on *iudici* in 921 which has expelled the authentic word; so too at *Ag.* 785 *Troia* is believed to have replaced *domina*, conjecturally restored by Bentley.

pariter ac: 90–1, 1101–2nn.; cf. *Tro.* 213–14 *exiit matris dolos | falsasque uestes* and Ov. *Met.* 13.522 *uitam pariter regnumque reliquit*.

1179–80 For the third time Phaedra promises to follow her beloved; this time she means it!

1180 amnes igneos: Phlegethon as at 1227; the pl. avoids the elision of the singular ending.

1181 placemus umbras: the offering of a lock of hair to the dead has overtones of the heroic age (cf. *Il.* 23.141–2, where Achilles cuts off his hair for Patroclus); the *Hippolytus* of Euripides moreover ends with a reference to the hero's cult at Trozen where brides offered a lock of hair to him on their marriage (Barrett 4 and cf. fr. U)). But the offering was not exactly propitiatory and S. gives Phaedra's gesture a fresh twist (S. Eitrem, *Opferritus und Voropfer der Griechen und Römer* (1915) 345 n. 2); in cutting her hair for the dead she prepares herself for death, as Iris prepares Dido at Virg. *Aen.* 4.704 (see Sommer, *RE* s.v. *Haaropfer* VII 2016.11–21).

capitis exuuias: Cf. Catull. 66.62 *uerticis exuuias*, a reference to the votive lock of Berenice.

1183 certe: 433n.

1184 iunxisse: 503n.

fata 'deaths' (*OLD* s.v. 6)

1184–5 Phaedra addresses herself. She must die whether she is chaste or unchaste: if she is still chaste and was not raped by Hippolytus

then she must die to recompense Theseus for the unnecessary loss of his son; but if she was Hippolytus' lover then she has to die to join him below (Farnaby (1613)).

amori: concrete, 'lover'.

1186 hoc derat: one of S.'s (and Ovid's) favourite expressions, found also at *H.F.* 832, *Tro.* 888, *Phoen.* 369 and *Med.* 992, it implies a limit of evil (not always evaded); see Duff on *Ad Helu.* 2.5 and *TLL* s.v. *desum* v 1.785.37 '3 locutiones de desiderandis bonis timendisue malis, quae tamquam restare uidentur'.

1187 uindicato 'avenged', by the death of the alleged ravisher.

sancta 'as if blameless'; the provisional concept must be understood.

1191 Athenae: as at 725 the populace is invited to hear the recantation.

1193 hauseram: Phaedra 'drank in' the plot; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 10.648 *animo spem turbidus hausit inanem* (*OLD* s.v. 6).

1194–5 Alliteration underscores the bitterness of her reproof.

1195 castus ... incesto: cf. 237 and Lucr. 1.98–9 *sed casta inceste ... | hostia concideret*.

1196 recipe: Phaedra again addresses the corpse of Hippolytus.

1197 impium iusto: 1111n.

1197–8 Phaedra kills herself on stage. So far as we know murder or suicide was not represented in the classic theatre of Athens (unless Sophocles' *Ajax* prove an exception); Horace endorsed this rule at *A.P.* 185 *ne pueros coram populo Medea trucidet*. But S. enacts murder at *Med.* 967–77 and *H.F.* 990–1026 and suicide at *Ag.* 1038–9. Either he decided to break with classic practice, or he had a model in later theatrical tradition, or he was composing for a pseudo-stage where only the mind's eye would visualize the scene (Fantham (1982) 36 n.6).

1200 disce a nouerca: the phrase points to an obsessive theme of S.'s own day, the exemplary suicide. Many factors might induce a person to commit suicide, but models were needed of bold resolve. Hence the fame of Arria, who killed herself in order to encourage her husband Paetus to do likewise. (Cf. Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra* IV.xiv.96–103 'Thou teachest me, O valiant Eros what | I should and thou couldst not ... | Thy master dies thy scholar: to do thus | I learned of thee.')

Acherontis: in early Greek poetry Acheron is a river only, but by

Hellenistic times the word is used of the Underworld as a whole; with this sense it is found in Ennius (*scaen.* 192 Jocelyn).

1201–12 Theseus now speaks in trochaic tetrameters and condemns his rash curse; see Introduction p. 42.

1201 pallidi: a standing epithet of the Underworld and of all that is in it (Pease on Virg. *Aen.* 4.26, p. 109b).

Taenarii: an entrance to the Underworld in the south-east Peloponnese first named in Latin at Virg. *Geor.* 4.467; cf. *H.F.* 587 *Spartani* ... *ianua Taenari*.

1202 unda ... Lethes: to Greeks Lethe was a plain (Aristoph. *Ran.* 185, Plato, *Resp.* 10.621a); Virgil made it a river at *Aem.* 6.705 *Lethaeum* ... *amnem*. It is called *miseris grata* because it removes their cares with oblivion (*H.F.* 681).

torpentes lacus: Cocytus, which is called *iners* at *H.F.* 686 and 869.

1203 Theseus' wish reflects the suggestion of Artemis at Eur. *Hipp.* 1290–1 'you ought for shame to hide yourself beneath the earth'.

atque: the unelided form is unusual in poetry of this period (also found at *Med.* 880).

1204–6 The almost exact repetition of Phaedra's wish (1161–2) betrays a certain poverty of invention; all that is changed is the name of the sea-god.

1204 uastum mare has appeared to some too slovenly a phrase to be authentic; after the summoning of the monsters of the sea, it is anticlimactic to summon the sea too. Moreover the phrase intrudes between *monstra* and the *quodcumque* clause. No conjectures, however, have removed the appearance of padding. Axelson's *uasti maris*, accepted by Zwierlein (1987), merely repeats *ponti* and none of the examples cited in defence of the conjecture (from this play 100, 272, 731, 864) entail the ἀπὸ κοινοῦ construction (here *monstra*). This last point is important since the other examples of synonymous phrases give at least the appearance of making a distinction; the ἀπὸ κοινοῦ construction, on the other hand, binds the parts of the sentence very closely together and would here only emphasize tautology. Therefore either a more thoroughgoing rewriting is wanted or we have to admit that the phrase is authentic but poor.

1206 ouantem: far from rejoicing in his act, Theseus deplored it at 1117; the phrase might be either a bitter sarcasm or an unintegrated

recollection of Eur. *Hipp.* 1286 ‘Why do you rejoice at these things, wretched Theseus?’ (408n.).

1207 tuque sc. *rape*. The explanation and punctuation of Housman 1080 is here adopted.

semper: 92n.

1208 noua ‘unusual’; the alliteration points up the sentiment.

1209 segregem ‘torn asunder’, a rare word, here in an unusual sense.

1211–12 The comprehensive enumeration resembles *Ag.* 556 where Ajax is thus described: *terraque et igne uictus et pelago iacet*. In both passages the audience’s knowledge of *historia fabularis* is being tested. *sidera* refers to Ariadne (663n.), *manes* either to the murder of Antiope (226n.) or to the attempted rape of Proserpine, *undas* either to the suicide of Aegeus (1165n.) or to the death of Hippolytus by Neptune’s agency.

1212 sors ‘portion’; the three brothers Neptune, Pluto and Jupiter drew lots for the sea, the Underworld and heaven (*Hom. Il.* 15.187–93); the word is first used of each allotment by Virgil, *Aen.* 10.40 *nunc etiam Manes (haec intemptata manebat | sors rerum)*; cf. *H.F.* 833 *tertia regem ... sortis* (Fantham on *Tro.* 344–6, and 904 above).

regna ... tria: for a similar climax cf. *H.F.* 1114 *uno planctu tria regna sonent*.

norunt: cf. *H.F.* 1341 *sed et ille [locus] nouit*, where Hercules complains that he has nowhere to go into exile since all places know him and will repel him.

1214 bina: 150n.

funera ‘corpses’ (*OLD* s.v. 2).

1215 caelebs ‘widowed’, as at *Med.* 898.

orbis ‘childless’. In fact Theseus still has two sons, but, like Octavia after the death of Marcellus, he regards himself as utterly destitute (cf. *Ad Marc.* 2.5). The two terms are used by Tacitus to describe Silius at *Ann.* 11.26.3.

1216 thalami: 627n.

1217 atrae lucis: an arresting oxymoron; Theseus regards the light of day as baleful, dark like funeral fires.

1218 remitte: Hercules rescued Theseus (cf. 843–5), a favour (*munus*, cf. *H.F.* 806) granted by Dis. Theseus now begs to be allowed to return to hell; so at *H.F.* 1338–40 Hercules begs Theseus to take him back to hell, 1338–40.

1218 ereptos mihi: in fact, Theseus was snatched from death, but now he regards death as something of which he has been deprived.

1219 impius: explains why the summons to Hercules fails.

1220 leti artifex: cf. Ov. *A.A.* 1.656 *necis artifices* (also *Met.* 13.551).

1221 The pattern of the line is similar to *H.F.* 1335 *latebram quaere longinquam abditam* and *Thy.* 314 *istud quod uocas saeuum asperum*.

1223–5 Theseus deliberates whether he should be punished by one of the pests he defeated in his youth. Sinis, referred to already by Phaedra (1169), used trees to kill his guests, but the actual method was variously described (see Frazer on Apollod. *Bibl.*, Loeb edn, II 124–5). In one version two pine-trees were bent towards each other to the ground; the victim's limbs were tied to each treetop. The trees were let go, sprang up and separated and so tore the victim in two. In the other version a single treetop was lowered to the ground, the victim would try to hold it down but would be catapulted into the sky; he died from his fall. S.'s description seems to conflate the two versions since he speaks of a single tree and of a splitting in two. But in fact 1224, though it is here printed as in all other editions, is impossible to understand in the way in which it is usually rendered. The difficulty lies in *trabes*, which is usually used of the tree bent down; cf. Ov. *Met.* 7.441 *qui poterat curuare trabes* and *Ibis* 407 *quique trabes pressas ab humo mittebat in auras*. In this line, however, it ought to refer to the person who, pitched into the sky (*caelo remissum*), is being split in two. No explanation of this difficulty has presented itself and *trabes* therefore appears to be corrupt.

1225 mittar: 26on.

1227 igneo ... uado: the instrumental abl. explains the Greek name; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1.744 *pluuiasque Hyadas*.

1228 sedes: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.617–18 *sedet aeternumque sedebit | infelix Theseus*.

1229–37 Cf. *H.O.* 941–7 where Deianira begs to take over from the famous sinners of the Underworld their punishments. Reference to Hades often triggers off such a list (Tarrant on *Ag.* 15–22, p. 168).

1230–1 There were two versions of the punishment of Sisyphus; one held that he rolled the stone up a hill, the other, which also goes back to Homer, that he carried it (Roscher IV 965 with illustrations). The latter is the less common version, but as Leo (1878) observed in his index, s.v. Sisyphus, p. 403, it is the usual one in S.

1231 seni ... Aeolio: 54n. *seni* means simply that Sisyphus, son of

Aeolus, was a figure of myth; cf. *H.F.* 752 and *Ag.* 22 where *senex* is applied to Tantalus (*OLD* s.v. 1c).

labor: in apposition, not to *saxum*, but to the idea of the sentence, carrying the rock.

1232 ludat: cf. *Ag.* 770 *ad ora ludentes aquas*; the thirst of Tantalus is more commonly referred to than his hunger (Tarrant on *Ag.* 19–21, p. 170).

1233 uultur: in Homer two birds fed on Tityos' liver (*Od.* 11.578–9). Virgil, recalling perhaps the punishment of Prometheus, reduced the birds to one and said that the liver grew back, *Aen.* 6.595–600. S. follows his version; cf. Phaedr. *app.* 7.14 *tristi renatum suggerens poenae iecur*.

relicto 'left undisturbed' (*OLD* s.v. *relinquo* 11).

1234 accrescat 'grow so as to be commensurate with ...', i.e., grow again rather than grow larger.

1235–7 Theseus addresses Ixion.

1236 turbinibus 'gyrations' (*OLD* s.v. 4).

1237 nusquam 'under no circumstances' (*OLD* s.v. 4).

orbe ... rota: 701n.

1239 iustior: Theseus admits the criminal purpose of his first journey to hell and explains in the next line that he is not accompanying the lustful Pirithous but his own chaste son.

1242 non exiturum: his prayer finishes with an implied promise to stay put this time. After these words there is a pause, as at 1219, to allow time for his prayer to be answered.

1243 A bitter closing line directed against Neptune's compliance (1207).

1244 Cf. *Ov. Met.* 4.695–6 *lacrimarum longa manere tempora uos poterunt*.

1246 laniatu: a rare word.

1250–1 neu ... fierem: a result is ironically described in terms of a purpose; this device becomes common in silver Latin (H–S 642; Courtney on Juvenal 5.120, 7.29, 10.106).

semel: to curse a son is one guilty act, another is involving one's father in his execution.

1253 orbitas: 1215n.

triste ... malum: 1105n.

1255 pectore 'embrace', see Mayer on Lucan 8.66–7 *quam [= coniugem] pectore Magnus | ambit*.

1256–61 The command to reassemble Hippolytus has been condemned for poor taste (see Introduction pp. 17–18). But in S.'s defence P. J. Enk cites a similar scene in Apul. *Met.* 7.26 in which a dismembered muleteer is put back together again for burial (*Neophilologus* 41 (1957) 305). There is, however, a confusion here between fact and fantasy. It may indeed have been a moral duty in antiquity to reassemble a broken corpse, but how such a scene is described depends on the writer. S. lacked a sense of humour and he failed to perceive that an over-explicit description becomes funny or wearisome.

1257 loco: dative. For the repetition of the word at the end of the next line cf. 1053–4n.

1262 officio: dative (so *OLD* s.v. *duro* 4).

1263 arentes 'eyes, stay your tears so as to become dry', predicative.

1264 nato genitor: 21n.

1265 corpusque fingit: the technical term for arranging a body for burial is *corpus componere*; S. wittily chooses a synonym for the verb which stresses how unusual this 'laying-out' is.

forma carens: 483n.

1267 This is arguably the worst line in Senecan drama, rivalling *Oed.* 1051 *i profuge uade—siste, ne in matrem incidas*. It is a development of *Ov. Met.* 15.528–9 *nullasque in corpore partes | noscere quas posses*.

1269 Cf. *Tro.* 448 *uultus flammæum intendens iubar* and *Oed.* 410–12 *uultu sidereo*.

1270 inimica flectens pectora: the beauty of Hippolytus was so prepossessing that it conciliated even the feelings of an enemy. The reference may be general or applied specifically to Phaedra. It is true that in the action of this play there is no hostility between her and Hippolytus, but it should be remembered that Hippolytus himself and the Chorus assume that stepmothers are hateful (see 356–7 and 558); likewise Hippolytus is often called savage, though his behaviour to the Nurse and to Phaedra is courteous enough. S. is not bothered by such inconsequence. For the phrase cf. *Ov. Pont.* 1.2.118 *pectora flecte uiri* and *Lucan* 8.107 *duri flectuntur pectora Magni*.

pectora is an emendation for *lumina*, which cannot be satisfactorily interpreted (so Zwierlein (1987) following Axelson). Words of dactylic shape, however dissimilar in letters, are often confused; at *H.F.* 219, for example, these variants appear in the MSS. For a fuller account of the type of error see Housman on *Manil.* 1.416 and 746.

decor: cf. 1173.

1271 Cf. *Oed.* 75 *o saeua nimium numina, o fatum graue*. The divine favour probably refers to Hippolytus' beauty, in the event a fatal gift (cf. 762 *donum*).

1274 saepe: as more parts are retrieved, fresh rites must be performed, a frigid conceit.

1275 Theseus bids the palace be opened to prepare for his final exit into it.

1276 Mopsopia: 121n.

1277-9 As Hippolytus has ordered a hunt at the beginning of the play, so Theseus orders another, for different quarry, at the end.

1279-80 Theseus' last command is for Phaedra's burial; contemptuously he does not name her (*istam*). The last line reverses the traditional sepulchral wish that earth lie lightly on the dead; see R. Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin epitaphs* (= *Illinois studies in language and literature* 28 (1942)) 65-71 and cf. Crinagoras *A.P.* 7.401 = *GP* 2012-13 and Evans' epitaph on Vanbrugh: Lie heavy on him, Earth, for he, | Laid many a heavy load on thee.

ADDENDUM

948 parens 'as you are my father'; *parens* is a predicating nominative, not vocative. The pointed juxtaposition of words for family members is characteristic of S.: cf. 555, 998n., 1199 and Tarrant on *Ag.* 32 and *Thy.* 40-1.

APPENDIX 1

BORROWINGS

By the time S. took to verse composition there was a considerable body of classic Latin poetry to draw on for ready-made phrases. Ovid especially was S.'s constant study, but Horace and Virgil provided him with many verbal combinations. (Leo, *Obs.* 111, rightly referred to 'sermonis flosculis undique decerptis'.) The most significant have been cited in the commentary. But the less significant, the sort that perhaps presented themselves unobtrusively from within S.'s memory, should also be recorded. The sheer bulk of them is an impressive testimony to S.'s admiration for the verbal dexterity of the masters. For the sake of completeness even passages quoted in the Commentary will be referred to here. Self-quotations have also been included.

- | | |
|-------|--|
| 1 | umbrosas siluas: Ov. <i>A.A.</i> 2.81, <i>Met.</i> 1.693 |
| 2 | summa iuga: Ov. <i>Her.</i> 4.42 |
| | montis iuga: <i>Ag.</i> 457 |
| 3 | celeri planta: Virg. <i>Aen.</i> 7.811 |
| 6 | rapida unda: Ov. <i>Am.</i> 3.6.51, <i>Met.</i> 7.6, 9.104 |
| | ucrberat unda: Virg. <i>Aen.</i> 3.423, Ov. <i>Fast.</i> 3.568 |
| 11 | mulcens aura: Catull. 62.41, Ov. <i>Am.</i> 2.16.36 |
| 14-15 | sterilis harenas: Virg. <i>Geor.</i> 1.70 |
| 15 | radit harenas: Prop. 3.3.23 |
| 17-18 | comitatae gregibus paruis: <i>H.F.</i> 203 |
| 20 | tepidis austris: Ov. <i>A.A.</i> 3.174 |
| 24 | <i>Oed.</i> 52 nec ulla pars immunis ... uacat |
| 27 | quem tangit: <i>Thy.</i> 130 |
| 30 | uulnere multo: <i>Phaed.</i> 1096 |
| 31 | laxas habenas: Virg. <i>Geor.</i> 2.364 |
| | mitte habenas: <i>Med.</i> 347 |
| 32-3 | acres Molossos: Virg. <i>Geor.</i> 3.405 |
| 34 | See Commentary |
| 37 | ueniet tempus cum: Virg. <i>Geor.</i> 1.493 |
| 38 | caua saxa: Virg. <i>Aen.</i> 3.450, 566 |
| 39 | nare sagaci: Enn. <i>Ann.</i> 333 Sk. |
| 40 | captent auras: Virg. <i>Geor.</i> 1.376 |
| 41 | lux dubia: Ov. <i>Met.</i> 11.596 |
| 42 | signa pedum: Ov. <i>Fast.</i> 3.650 (thrice in <i>Met.</i>) |
| 47 | uano terrore: <i>Phaed.</i> 1066 |
| 48 | missile telum: Varro (then a cliché, see <i>TLL</i> viii 1138.37-46) |

- 50 lato ferro: Virg. *Aen.* 1.313, Ov. *Her.* 4.83, *Met.* 8.342
 57 certis telis: Ov. *Met.* 8.351
 58 gelidum potat Araxen: *Med.* 372-3
 60 Gaetulos leones: Hor. *C.* 1.23.10, Virg. *Aen.* 5.351
 62 figis dammas: Virg. *Geor.* 1.308
 63 dant pectora: Virg. *Aen.* 10.425
 66 solis aruis: Ov. *Met.* 3.10
 71 uacuis campis: Ov. *Trist.* 3.1.23
 77 plastro gementi: Virg. *Aen.* 11.138
 78 rostra gerunt: Ov. *Am.* 2.6.22
 sanguine multo: Virg. *Aen.* 6.87
 79-80 rustica turba: Ov. *Met.* 6.348
 85 uasti freti: Ov. *Trist.* 3.10.28, *Pont.* 3.4.58
 86 Cf. *Thy.* 227
 89 penates inuisos: Ov. *Met.* 9.640
 91 profugus coniunx: Ov. *Met.* 4.568
 93-4 fortis miles: Ov. *Her.* 6.54 (thrice more)
 95 regis inferni: Virg. *Aen.* 6.106, Ov. *Met.* 2.161; *Phaed.* 952
 98 Acheronte imo: Ov. *Met.* 11.504
 100 quies nocturna: Livy 22.50.4
 altus sopor: Virg. *Aen.* 8.27, Ov. *Met.* 7.667, 8.817
 102-3 Aetnaeo antro: Virg. *Aen.* 8.419
 uapor exundat: *H.F.* 911
 105 colere templa: Ov. *Her.* 20.180
 107 conscias sacris: Tibull. 1.7.48
 tacitis etc.: *Med.* 6, *Tro.* 843
 108 castis precibus: Ov. *Her.* 6.73
 ritu pio: Ov. *Fast.* 2.546
 111 molli manu: Ov. *Ib.* 456; *H.F.* 473
 113 fatale malum: Ov. *Trist.* 5.1.59
 118 indomiti gregis: Tibull. 2.4.57
 ductor gregis: *Tro.* 1035
 122 caeca domo: Ov. *Ib.* 372
 123 promittet opem: Ov. *Fast.* 5.247
 127-8 leui amore: Ov. *Her.* 3.42, *Fast.* 4.100
 129 progenies Iouis: Catull. 34.6, Ov. *Met.* 4.3
 130 casto pectore: Ov. *Her.* 13.30
 134 See Commentary; Ov. *Am.* 2.9.26
 142 domum infamem: Prop. 3.19.20
 quo misera pergis: *H.F.* 1012
 146 uacuum metu: Ov. *Met.* 3.582
 153 astu doloque: *Tro.* 752 dolis et astu
 156 uibrans fulmen: Ov. *Met.* 2.308
 fulmen Aetnaeum: Prop. 3.17.21, Ov. *A.A.* 3.490 (see Commentary)
 158 uidentes omnia ... (see Commentary)
 165 See Commentary

- 166 tellus barbara: Ov. *Trist.* 3.11.7, 5.2.31
 168 See Commentary
 181-3 See Commentary
 181-2 aduersa unda: Ov. *Met.* 15.732
 182 cedit . . . labor: Manil. 4.435
 187 ipsumque . . . Iouem: Ov. *Met.* 5.369 (in erotic context) (see
 Commentary)
 200 tenera tela . . . manu: *H.O.* 540
 209 See Commentary
 211 paruis tectis: Ov. *Trist.* 3.12.10
 212 medium uulgi: Ov. *Met.* 7.432
 216 alto solio: Virg. *Aen.* 8.541; Ov. *Her.* 9.153, *Fast.* 6.597; *Oed.* 271
 220 conuexa supera: Virg. *Aen.* 6.241
 221 nocte perpetua: Ov. *Met.* 7.2
 silentem domum: *H.F.* 620
 223 canis Stygius: *H.F.* 783
 231 caelibis uitae: Hor. *Epist.* 1.1.88
 234 aspera saxa: Ov. *Met.* 6.76, *Fast.* 6.470
 agili pede: *Oed.* 756-7
 235 alta nemora: Virg. *Aen.* 12.929, Ov. *Met.* 1.591
 239 precibus uinci: Ov. *Met.* 6.483
 246 splendidae comae: Catull. 61.78 (of torches)
 247 fessumque curis pectus: Ov. *Met.* 8.83-4
 258 Cf. *Ag.* 210, *Phoen.* 244
 260 See Commentary
 263 Cf. *Med.* 157, *Ag.* 203
 267 solamen unicum: *Tro.* 703-4, *Med.* 945-6
 annis fessis: *H.F.* 1250
 277 lasciuus puer: Ov. *Met.* 1.456
 puer renidens: Ov. *A.A.* 2.49
 278 certo arcu: Prop. 4.3.65, Ov. *Met.* 12.564
 284 Cf. *Oed.* 415
 288 Parrhasiae ursae: Ov. *Her.* 18.152
 glacialis ursae: *H.F.* 1140, *H.O.* 1582
 294 caelo relicto: Ov. *Met.* 2.730
 301 mouit alas: Prop. 4.1.105, Ov. *Rem.* 390, *Met.* 2.719
 302 moriente cycno: Ov. *Met.* 14.430
 306 lentos remos: Catull. 64.183, Ov. *Trist.* 4.1.9
 317-30 See Commentary
 322 luteo sacco: Catull. 61.10
 329 See Commentary
 330 nimium potens: Ov. *Met.* 3.292; *Phaed.* 609
 345 India decolor: Ov. *A.A.* 3.130, *Met.* 4.21, *Trist.* 5.3.24
 346 See Commentary
 348 Poeni leones: Virg. *Ecl.* 5.27
 354 iussit amor: Ov. *Am.* 2.1.3, *Her.* 4.10

- 356-7 saeuas nouercas: Virg. *Geor.* 2.128
 359 saeuis flammis: Ov. *Rem.* 53
 363 proditur uultu: cf. Ov. *Met.* 2.447 prodere uultu
 373-4 Cereris . . . cura: Ov. *Met.* 3.437-8
 376 Cf. Ov. *Am.* 2.5.34
 381-2 Cf. Ov. *Am.* 1.7.58
 386 mente non sana: *Med.* 123
 387 See Commentary
 remouete famulae: *H.F.* 1053
 388 muricis Tyrii: Tibull. 2.4.28, Virg. *Aen.* 4.262, Ov. *Rem.* 708
 389 ultimi Seres: *H.O.* 414
 393 See Commentary
 400 pulsans solum: Ov. *Met.* 4.133-4, 7.113
 402-3 lunata pelta: Virg. *Aen.* 1.490
 405 placa numen: Ov. *A.A.* 1.231 (and often)
 412 Hecate triformis: *Med.* 7
 414 facilis aures: Prop. 1.1.31
 418 lucidi uultus: *Phaed.* 788-9
 432 fida nutrix: *Med.* 568
 433 maesta uultu: Ov. *Am.* 2.5.44
 444-5 facem attolle: Virg. *Aen.* 6.607
 445 See Commentary
 448 See Commentary
 450 effunde habenas: Virg. *Aen.* 12.499
 456 laetis satis: Virg. *Geor.* 1.325
 457 celso uertice: Virg. *Aen.* 3.679
 465 saeua bella: a cliché avoided by Virgil, see *TLL* II 1848.58-66
 Marte sanguineo: Ov. *Rem.* 153
 468 See Commentary
 474 peruius uentis: Ov. *Met.* 2.762
 477 atram Styga: Virg. *Geor.* 1.243
 482 ciuium coetus: *Ag.* 596
 483 uitio carens: Ov. *Pont.* 1.7.49
 485 siluas amat: Virg. *Geor.* 2.486
 486 See Commentary
 488 uulgu infidum: Hor. *C.* 1.35.25
 493 edax liuor: Ov. *Am.* 1.15.1, *Rem.* 389
 dente petit: Hor. *Ep.* 6.15
 498 cruor largus: Ov. *Fast.* 4.636
 500 niuei boues: Ov. *Trist.* 4.4.31
 centena colla: *H.F.* 300
 510 ueteres fagi: see Commentary
 511-12 leues somnos: Hor. *Ep.* 2.28, *C.* 1.16.15
 513 flores nouos: Lucr. 1.928
 514 fugiente riuo: Virg. *Geor.* 4.19
 521 duro toro: Ov. *Fast.* 5.456
 523-4 See Commentary

- 526 See Commentary
 528 caecus cupido: Ov. *Met.* 3.620
 530 secabant pontum: Virg. *Aen.* 9.103
 533 arma sacua: Virg. *Aen.* 1.295
 539 opaca antra: Ov. *Met.* 13.777
 540 impius furor: Virg. *Aen.* 1.294
 547–8 Cf. Ov. *Am.* 3.8.14, *Fast.* 2.784
 549 galeae comantes: Virg. *Aen.* 2.391 (see Commentary)
 550 bellicus Mauors: Ov. *Fast.* 3.1
 553 dempto fine: Ov. *Her.* 1.50, *Trist.* 3.11.2
 558 See Commentary
 559 dux femina: Virg. *Aen.* 1.364
 scelerum artifex: *Tro.* 750, *Med.* 734
 571 attollet diem: *Med.* 298
 572 ora blanda: Ov. *Met.* 13.555
 580 dura cautes: Prop. 3.1.4, Virg. *Aen.* 4.366, Ov. *Met.* 4.672, 7.418
 583 impatiens morae: *Oed.* 99
 592 perage mandatum: *Phoen.* 36
 594–5 Cf. *Phoen.* 542–3
 597 iugali face: *H.O.* 339
 601 Cf. *H.O.* 484
 602 transitum uerbis: Ov. *Met.* 4.77
 613 altas niues: Hor. *Ep.* 6.7, *Serm.* 1.2.105–6, *C.* 1.9.1, Virg. *Geor.* 1.310, Ov. *Met.* 1.50
 614 Pindi iugis: Virg. *Ecl.* 10.11; *H.F.* 980
 620 See Commentary
 622 sinu receptam: Ov. *A.A.* 2.360
 626 ad superos uiam: *H.F.* 318
 629 reducem dabunt: Virg. *Aen.* 11.798
 634 spes credula: Tibull. 2.6.19, Hor. *C.* 4.1.30; *Thy.* 295
 635 precibus admotis: Ov. *Met.* 6.689
 639 uerba iacis: Prop. 4.9.32, Ov. *Met.* 15.780, *Fast.* 2.590
 640 effare aperte = 859
 644 altas trabes: Virg. *Aen.* 12.603
 645 amore casto: Ov. *Her.* 1.23, *Fast.* 4.224, *Trist.* 4.3.28
 648 See Commentary
 649 See Commentary
 652 See Commentary
 ora tenera: Ov. *Her.* 16.254, *Am.* 3.6.60, 10.22
 675 atris nubibus: Virg. *Aen.* 4.248, 10.264, Ov. *Met.* 2.790, 12.52, *Fast.* 1.315 (a cliché)
 677 sidereum caput: Ov. *Met.* 15.31
 680 diuum rector: Virg. *Aen.* 8.573
 687 omne femineum: Virg. *Aen.* 9.141–2
 692 uultu truci: *H.F.* 371, *Tro.* 1152; Hor. *Ep.* 5.4 *uoltus* ... *truces*; Liv. 45.10.8; Tac. *Ann.* 4.34.2, 6.46.4 (a cliché)
 700 mare insanum: see Commentary, *Ag.* 540

- 701 unda torrens: Virg. *Geor.* 2.451
 702 quacumque gressus tuleris: Ov. *Her.* 16.333, (*Met.* 6.275, *Fast.* 4.488)
 706 stringatur ensis: *Thy.* 26
 715 quis Tanais: *H.F.* 1323
 725 fida famulorum manus: Virg. *Aen.* 11.34
 729 trepida fuga: Ov. *Trist.* 1.10.10
 737 See Commentary
 745 coeunte cornu: Ov. *Her.* 2.3
 751 pulsus tenebris: Ov. *Met.* 7.703
 755 See Commentary
 756 Cf. *Oed.* 413
 762 exigui temporis: Ov. (six times)
 763 celeri pede: Ov. *Met.* 10.653
 764 nouo uere: Virg. *Ecl.* 10.74, *Geor.* 1.43
 770 teneris genis: Ov. (five times)
 773-4 bono fragili: Ov. *A.A.* 2.113
 775 tempus tacitum: Ov. *Pont.* 4.2.42
 777 deserta petis: Virg. *Ecl.* 6.80
 780 cingent turba: Ov. *Pont.* 4.9.17
 789 nubes sordidior: *Epist.* 53.1
 792 tinnitus dedimus: Ov. *Fast.* 4.184
 794 celeres uias: Ov. *Her.* 16.330
 797 See Commentary
 798 facies torua: Virg. *Aen.* 7.415, Ov. *Met.* 15.587
 809-19 See Commentary
 810-11 frenis flectere: Ov. *Her.* 19.12
 813 totis uiribus: Ov. *Met.* 10.658
 815 gracilem harundinem: Ov. *Am.* 1.7.55
 816 tela spargere: Ov. *Met.* 12.600
 827 decus omne: Virg. *Ecl.* 5.34, Ov. *Fast.* 6.75
 830 attollens caput: Ov. *Met.* 5.503
 835 noctis aeternae: Ov. *Her.* 10.112
 839 Cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1.374
 850 aures pepulit: *H.F.* 415, *Med.* 116
 872 causa leti: Ov. *Her.* 7.63
 887 ueste praetenta: Cf. Ov. *Am.* 3.6.79
 891 temptata precibus: Ov. *Met.* 11.239
 895 Cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.97
 899 asperum signis: Virg. *Aen.* 9.263, Ov. *Met.* 12.235
 926 supremo numini: Ov. *Met.* 15.128
 936 gelidi Boreae: Ov. *Am.* 2.11.10, *Trist.* 1.2.29
 Boreae minas = 1130
 947 See Commentary
 953 pactam fidem: Ov. *Her.* 6.41, 20.7, *Met.* 11.135, *Fast.* 3.485
 960 rector Olympi: Ov. *Met.* 2.60, 9.498
 971 temperet annus: Hor. *Epist.* 1.12.16

- 981 dira libido: Lucr. 4.1046
 991 Cf. *Ag.* 922
 1001 Cf. *Thy.* 621
 1003 ora domita: Tibull. 1.3.42
 1012 Ionius sinus: Hor. *Ep.* 10.19
 1022 Epidauri dei: Prop. 2.1.61
 1023 scelere nobiles: *Ag.* 566
 1034 quassat tremor: *Tro.* 168
 1040 flammam uomunt: Virg. *Aen.* 8.620
 1043 nares patulae: Lucr. 5.1076, Virg. *Geor.* 1.376, Ov. *Met.* 3.686
 1072 turbido mari: Cf. Ov. *Her.* 18.7–8, 172
 1073 det latus: Virg. *Aen.* 1.105
 1076–7 See Commentary
 1089 See Commentary
 1093–4 inlisum scopulis: Virg. *Geor.* 3.261
 1097 moribunda membra: Virg. *Aen.* 6.732
 celeres rotas: Ov. *Ib.* 192
 1121 madent fletu: Ov. *Trist.* 3.5.12
 1141–2 mobilis hora: Hor. *Epist.* 2.2.172
 1150 caelum superos: Ov. *Pont.* 3.5.55
 1151 Stygias paludes: Virg. *Aen.* 6.323, Ov. *Met.* 1.737; *H.F.* 780
 1153 inferno tyranno: Ov. *Met.* 5.508
 1154 uox flebilis: a cliché, see *TLL* vi 890.20–3
 1156 instigat furor: *Thy.* 27
 1159 Cf. *Med.* 4
 1174 See Commentary
 1179 Tartareos lacus: Ov. *A.A.* 322
 1181 See Commentary
 1201 fauces Auerni: Virg. *Aen.* 6.201
 1202 torpentes lacus: *Oed.* 584
 1205 ultimo sinu: Hor. *Ep.* 1.13
 1227 Cf. *Thy.* 73
 1238 dehisce tellus: Ov. *Met.* 1.545; *Tro.* 519, *Oed.* 868
 1240 qui manes regis: *Oed.* 559
 1250 ego te peremi: Ov. *Met.* 4.110
 1255 maesto pectore: Catull. 64.202
 1256 disiecta membra: Hor. *Serm.* 1.4.62
 laceri corporis: Ov. *Met.* 15.532, *Fast.* 6.744
 1259 frenis moderandis: Ov. *Pont.* 2.9.33
 1261 Cf. *Med.* 264, *Oed.* 357
 1263 fletus largos: Virg. *Aen.* 2.271 (then cliché, see *TLL* vi 904.23–4)
 1269 igne sidereo: Ov. *Met.* 1.778–9, 15.665
 1277 flammam rogi: Ov. *Iher.* 16.162, *Fast.* 5.463

APPENDIX 2

P. OVIDI NASONIS HEROIDVM EPISTVLA IV PHAEDRA HIPPOLYTO

QVAM nisi tu dederis, caritura est ipsa, salutem
mittit Amazonio Cressa puella uiro.
perlege, quodcumque est—quid epistula lecta nocebit?
te quoque in hac aliquid quod iuuat esse potest;
his arcana notis terra pelagoque feruntur. 5
inspicit acceptas hostis ab hoste notas.
ter tecum conata loqui ter inutilis haesit
lingua, ter in primo restitit ore sonus.
qua licet et sequitur, pudor est miscendus amor;
dicere quae puduit, scribere iussit amor. 10
quidquid Amor iussit, non est contemnere tutum;
regnat et in dominos ius habet ille deos.
ille mihi primo dubitanti scribere dixit:
'scribe! dabit uictas ferreus ille manus.'
adsit et, ut nostras auido fouet igne medullas, 15
figat sic animos in mea uota tuos!
non ego nequitia socialia foedera rumpam;
fama — uelim quaeras — crimine nostra uacat.
uenit amor grauius, quo serior — urimur intus;
urimur, et caecum pectora uulnus habent. 20
scilicet ut teneros laedunt iuga prima iuuenos,
frenaque uix patitur de grege captus equus,
sic male uixque subit primos rude pectus amores,
sarcinaque haec animo non sedet apta meo.
ars fit, ubi a teneris crimen condiscitur annis; 25
cui uenit exacto tempore, peius amat.
tu noua seruatae capies libamina famae,
et pariter nostrum fiet uterque nocens.
est aliquid, plenis pomaria carpere ramis,
et tenui primam delegere ungue rosam. 30

si tamen ille prior, quo me sine crimine gessi,
 candor ab insolita labe notandus erat,
 at bene successit, digno quod adurimur igni;
 peius adulterio turpis adulter obest.
 si mihi concedat Iuno fratremque uirumque, 35
 Hippolytum uideor praepositura Ioui!
 iam quoque — uix credes — ignotas mittor in artes;
 est mihi per saeuas impetus ire feras.
 iam mihi prima dea est arcu praesignis adunco
 Delia; iudicium subsequor ipsa tuum. 40
 in nemus ire libet pressisque in retia cervis
 hortari celeris per iuga summa canes,
 aut tremulum excusso iaculum uibrare lacerto,
 aut in graminea ponere corpus humo.
 saepe iuuat uersare leues in puluere currus 45
 torquentem frenis ora fugacis equi;
 nunc feror, ut Bacchi furiis Eleleides actae,
 quaeque sub Idaeo tympana colle mouent,
 aut quas semideae Dryades Faunique bicornes
 numine contactas attonuere suo. 50
 namque mihi referunt, cum se furor ille remisit,
 omnia; me tacitam conscius urit amor.
 forsitan hunc generis fato reddamus amorem,
 et Venus ex tota gente tributa petat.
 Iuppiter Europen — prima est ea gentis origo — 55
 dilexit, tauro dissimulante deum.
 Pasiphae mater, decepto subdita tauro,
 enixa est utero crimen onusque suo.
 perfidus Aegides, ducentia fila secutus,
 curua meae fugit tecta sororis ope. 60
 en, ego nunc, ne forte parum Minoia credar,
 in socias leges ultima gentis eo!
 hoc quoque fatale est: placuit domus una duabus;
 me tua forma capit, capta parente soror.
 Thesides Theseusque duas rapuere sorores — 65
 ponite de nostra bina tropaea domo!
 tempore quo nobis inita est Cerealis Eleusin,
 Cnosia me vellem detinuisset humus!

tunc mihi praecipue (nec non tamen ante placebas)
acer in extremis ossibus haesit amor. 70
candida uestis erat, praecincti flore capilli,
flaua uerecundus tinxerat ora rubor,
quemque uocant aliae uultum rigidumque trucemque,
pro rigido Phaedra iudice fortis erat.
sint procul a nobis iuuenes ut femina compti! 75
fine coli modico forma uirilis amat.
te tuus iste rigor positique sine arte capilli
et leuis egregio puluis in ore decet.
siue ferocis equi luctantia colla recuruas,
exiguo flexos miror in orbe pedes; 80
seu lentum ualido torques hastile lacerto,
ora ferox in se uersa lacertus habet,
siue tenes lato uenabula cornea ferro.
denique nostra iuuat lumina, quidquid agis.
tu modo duritiam siluis depone iugosis; 85
non sum militia digna perire tua.
quid iuuat incinctae studia exercere Dianae,
et Veneri numeros eripuisse suos?
quod caret alterna requie, durabile non est;
haec reparat uires fessaque membra nouat. 90
arcus — et arma tuae tibi sunt imitanda Dianae —
si numquam cesses tendere, mollis erit.
clarus erat siluis Cephalus, multaeque per herbas
conconsiderant illo percutiente ferae;
nec tamen Aurorae male se praebebat amandum. 95
ibat ad hunc sapiens a senē diua uiro.
saepe sub ilicibus Venerem Cinyraque creatum
sustinuit positos quaelibet herba duos.
arsit et Oenides in Maenalia Atalanta;
illa ferae spoliū pignus amoris habet. 100
nos quoque quam primum turba numeremur in ista!
si Venerem tollas, rustica silua tua est.
ipsa comes ueniam, nec me latebrosa mouebunt
saxa neque obliquo dente timendus aper.
aequora bina suis obpugnant fluctibus isthmon, 105
et tenuis tellus audit utrumque mare.

hic tecum Troezena colam, Pittheia regna;
 iam nunc est patria carior illa mea.
 tempore abest aberitque diu Neptunius heros;
 illum Pirithoi detinet ora sui. 110
 praeposuit Theseus — nisi si manifesta negamus —
 Pirithoum Phaedrae Pirithoumque tibi.
 sola nec haec ad nos iniuria uenit ab illo;
 in magnis laesi rebus uterque sumus.
 ossa mei fratris claua perfracta trinodi 115
 sparsit humi; soror est praeda relicta feris.
 prima securigeras inter uirtute puellas
 te peperit, nati digna uigore parens;
 si quaeras, ubi sit — Theseus latus ense peregit,
 nec tanto mater pignore tuta fuit. 120
 at ne nupta quidem taedaeque accepta iugali —
 cur, nisi ne caperes regna paterna nothus?
 addidit et fratres ex me tibi, quos tamen omnis
 non ego tollendi causa, sed ille fuit.
 o utinam nocitura tibi, pulcherrime rerum, 125
 in medio nisu uiscera rupta forent!
 i nunc, sic meriti lectum reuerere parentis —
 quem fugit et factis abdicat ipse suis!
 nec, quia priuigno uidear coitura nouerca,
 terruerint animos nomina uana tuos. 130
 ista uetus pietas, aeuo moritura futuro,
 rustica Saturno regna tenente fuit.
 Iuppiter esse pium statuit, quodcumque iuuaret,
 et fas omne facit fratre marita soror.
 illa coit firma generis iunctura catena, 135
 inposuit nodos cui Venus ipsa suos.
 nec labor est celare, licet peccemus, amorem.
 cognato poterit nomine culpa tegi.
 uiderit amplexos aliquis, laudabimur ambo;
 dicar priuigno fida nouerca meo. 140
 non tibi per tenebras duri reseranda mariti
 ianua, non custos decipiendus erit;
 ut tenuit domus una duos, domus una tenebit;
 oscula aperta dabas, oscula aperta dabis;

tutus eris mecum laudemque merebere culpa, 145
tu licet in lecto conspiciare meo.
tolle moras tantum properataque foedera iunge —
qui mihi nunc saeuit, sic tibi parcat Amor!
non ego dedignor supplex humilisque precari.
heu! ubi nunc fastus altaque uerba iacent? 150
at pugnare diu nec me submittere culpae
certa fui—certi siquid haberet amor;
uicta precor genibusque tuis regalia tendo
bracchia! quid deceat, non uidet ullus amans.
depudui, profugusque pudor sua signa reliquit. 155
da ueniam fasse duraque corda doma!
quod mihi sit genitor, qui possidet aequora, Minos,
quod ueniant proauis fulmina torta manu,
quod sit auus, radiis frontem uallatus acutis
purpureo tepidum qui mouet axe diem— 160
nobilitas sub amore iacet! miserere priorum
et, mihi si non uis parcere, parce meis!
est mihi dotalis tellus Iouis insula, Crete—
seruiat Hippolyto regia tota meo!
flecte, ferox, animos! potuit corrumpere taurum 165
mater; eris tauro saeuior ipse truci?
per Venerem, parcas, oro, quae plurima mecum est!
sic numquam, quae te spernere possit, ames;
sic tibi secretis agilis dea saltibus adsit,
siluaque perdendas praebeat alta feras; 170
sic faeant Satyri montanaque numina Panes,
et cadat aduersa cuspide fossus aper;
sic tibi dent Nymphae, quamuis odisse puellas
diceris, arentem quae leuet unda sitim!
addimus his precibus lacrimas quoque; uerba precantis 175
qui legis, et lacrimas finge uidere meas!

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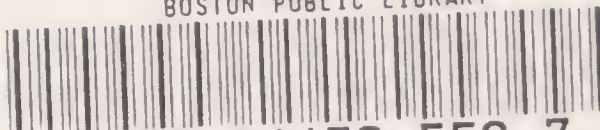
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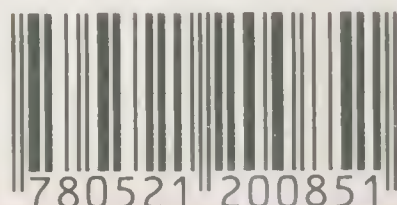
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